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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 May 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NOVA MYSL ON COLLECTIVISM, INDIVIDUALISM

AU191206 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 4, 1984 pp 25-36

[Article by Doctor Frantisek Korselt, doctor of pedagogy and candidate of sciences of the Department of Philosophy at the Charles University in Prague, in the rubric "Ideopolitical Issues": "Collectivism and the Workers Class"]

[Excerpts] The revolutionary transformations triggered by the February Victory [1948 communist takeover] have laid the permanent foundations for socialism in Czechoslovakia. The consistently implemented socialization of the means of production in industry, agriculture, and other spheres of social production is establishing the integrating framework of the working people's social and political activity and shaping their class-political unity. It is socialist production relations in particular that form the prerequisite for ensuring collective collaboration on a wide social scale because of the integrating impact they have.

In the current very complicated international situation the issue of the united course of the world's progressive forces against the war endeavors of world imperialism is coming more and more to the fore of the progressive forces' interest. In this context, the need for close collaboration throughout the social division of labor is increasingly growing also in our society.

The position of the workers class in the social division of labor and its close ties with material production are objectively given by the progressive and revolutionary qualities of the workers class, which are aimed at fulfilling the true interests of society as a whole and of all working people.

Even under socialism, which has fundamentally transformed the position of the workers class in society, the workers class does not lose its crystallized class-political features or its revolutionizing activity, which is oriented against each and every type of individualism. Moreover, with the growing interlinkage of individual spheres of social life, of the spheres of man's activity, the other components of the socioclass structure also acquire positions that are increasingly approaching the place of the workers class in the social division of labor. They are getting into a situation in which their members must increasingly realize their dependence on, and their interest in, the operation of the social system as a whole. Objectively, this makes the significant need for the conscious collaboration of all components of the social production process--based on economic existence and pushed through by the collectivization activity of the workers class--of primary interest to the broad public of working people.

The material conditions, however, do not operate automatically--not on any account. Although we have here a logical line of development, this fact must nevertheless be reflected in the social mind and realized by the subjective effort of society. We have here a dialectical relationship between the subject and the object, characterized by varied interlinkages with diversely operating conflicts. In the present historical phase this mainly applies to the antagonistic relationship between two social systems--socialist and capitalist--and to the sharpening conflict between the social character of production and the private-property method of appropriating its results.

The development and spread of collectives have their material roots and their socioeconomic determination, but the direct implementation of collectivism is in practice a matter of subjective factors. The socialization of production requires increasingly perfect collaboration, based on the principle of collectivism. At the same time, expressions of individualism are coming into increasing conflict with the growing linkage of the individual spheres of life of the socialist society and of man's activity. Socialist production relations form an integrated framework within which individualism is increasingly felt to be detrimental to the whole, to each individual person. This fact, which is necessarily reflected in the social mind, is subjectively aimed at an active, conscious struggle between the forces of collectivism and those of individualism and against the vestiges linked with it.

If we understand collectivism as a social phenomenon that is an integral part of the implementation of the historical role of the workers class, and individualism as a class-political quality inherent to the bourgeoisie, then we necessarily come to the conclusion that there is an antagonistic inter-relationship between these phenomena. Within the framework of the socialist society, which logically promotes integration, cooperation, and specialization, this means that every component of the total social production process, and every individual who makes use of the existing conditions for his own benefit at the cost of the whole, inevitably comes into conflict with the needs and tendencies of social development.

The pressure exerted by the individual components of the integrated social production process to eliminate individualist phenomena is reflected in the least distorted and most telling way in material production, which represents the objective and determining base of the development and spread of collectivism as a social phenomenon.

Although it is the sphere of material production that most tellingly reflects social conditions in general and the collectivist needs of the socialist society, the spheres that produce values other than material ones also strikingly reflect the collectivist needs of the socialist society. This applies, for instance, to all spheres of science and the arts. Here, too, any isolation, any withdrawal into a shell of individual originality, inevitably leads to conflict with the historical role of the workers class and the collectivism connected with it.

The overestimation of science to the detriment of practice, and of professionalism to the detriment of political aspects, cannot correspond to the developing needs of the socialist society. The same can be said of art that

does not proceed from the specific collectivizing conditions of the life of a socialist society. "Art for art's sake" cannot serve the needs of the broad working people's masses--it can only serve the individualist elitist interests of certain groups and individuals. The individualist separation of science and the arts from the logical class-determined social movement results not only in a loss of vital contact with reality, but also in a depreciation of the standards of knowledge, of the general possibility to "enter" the specific conditions of a socialist society's life and to influence them in the desirable collectivizing direction.

The negative phenomena that crop up as by-products of the main line of development of the objective reality of the socialist society also demand a consistent solution. The realistic possibilities of effectively resolving them are provided by the very essence of socialism. A typical example of these phenomena is the superficial treatment of human relations, the weakening of man's compassion toward man, and the race for money and for material values, which deforms human relations, friendship, and love. These and similar facts spoil people's ability to identify rationally and emotionally with one another and man's ability to identify with society.

In the socioeconomic system that functions on the basis of socialist collectivist production relations, the need to combat individualism becomes the concern of all working people. Production, which is being socialized, objectively has an impact on all working people and by means of the integrating socialist production relations they are also becoming involved at the side of the workers class in the struggle against manifestations of individualism. This is the emphatic prerequisite of the struggle of collectivism against individualism--a struggle that is complicated and protracted, and also dialectically conflicting, but it is also logically historically successful.

The interest of the entire socialist society is becoming mainly concentrated on the indispensable function of the deliberate shaping of collectivism in man's mind, which itself influences the development of the material prerequisites of further social advance. Collectivist education must not be understood--as sometimes happens--as a more or less isolated sphere of social life. In the spirit of the legacy of A.S. Makarenko, the classic of collective education and an important prewar Soviet-educationalist, it must be stressed that the shaping of socialist man shares many common features with the revolutionary struggle of the workers class, both in the more narrow micro-structural connections and in the broadest macrostructural connections. A typical example is democratic centralism, as the principle of the organizational unity of the revolutionary struggle of the workers class; but also as the principle of building the socialist society. Democratic centralism is a principle that permeates the material base and the social suprastructure, whose specific consequences are reflected in every sphere of life of the socialist society. Thus it is also the principle of organizing all upbringing-educational activity; and thus it is also reflected in the teacher-pupil and tutor-ward relationship, in the work of every leading worker whose task it is to direct the sector entrusted to him and to lead the people; this includes the shaping of their minds in the desirable socially positive direction.

In this connection one must not ignore the existence of progressive processes which are crystallized in the class-political sense and which operate within the social macro- and microstructure. In the first place this applies to the process of shaping a collective as a social formation that pursues the historic role of the workers class. Regardless of whether it is a matter of shaping the working or family collective, the collective of a plant, a school, or an institution, or else the collective of the socialist society and every international collective, the fundamental basis is the differentiation of its core. A real collective, which actively and consciously strives to implement the history-creating role of the workers class, can be shaped only on the basis of a core that is class-politically crystallized, which stands on the positions of the workers class.

The development of production forces, together with the development of production relations, represents the determining condition for the growth of awareness among the broadest strata of the working people and the objective prerequisite for the spread of collectivism. And it is exactly this that is the objective foundation for cementing and enhancing the action ability of the progressive forces of the world, and the material base for ridding mankind of prejudices and the vestiges of the past, which deform and alienate man's life and which get into conflict with the logical social development. Historically understood, we have here a process of developing awareness, from the workers' spontaneous struggle and to the working people's consciousminded cooperation on the level of nations, nationalities, and states--to international cooperation. This is the path of transition from capitalism to socialism, the path whereby socialism changes into communism--the path of liberating mankind from conditions that are alien to its humaneness, the path of consummating the epoch-making role of the workers class. Realistic possibilities do exist for all this; but the transition from possibilities to reality ultimately depends on man himself. At the same time, however, collectivism represents an urgent need, a pressing demand on mankind; mankind defends its existence with the aid of collectivism and through collectivism the people can comprehensively develop and simultaneously proceed toward a truly humane, communist society.

Certain negative phenomena do persist in the socialist countries and society cannot remain indifferent to them. That is why Comrade Yu. Andropov stated at the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "We must fight more resolutely against any violation of the party, state, and work discipline." (Ensuring a Lasting Peace to the World Is the Unchangeable Goal of the USSR's Policy. Comrade Yuriy Andropov's speech at the CPSU Central Committee session. RUDE PRAVO 23 November 1982, page 7) In his article in KOMMUNIST in connection with the 100th anniversary of the death of K. Marx, Comrade Yu. Andropov stated: "The abyss between the interests of the state and those of the citizen, which exists under capitalism, has been eliminated in our country. Deplorably, there are still people who strive to place their own egotistical interests above those of society and its other members. In this connection the need to work on the education, and sometimes even reeducation, of certain individuals becomes clearly defined, as does the need to fight the attacks against the socialist



legal system and the principles of our collectivist coexistence. This is no 'trampling underfoot of human rights.' as the bourgeois propaganda hypocritically claims; this is the most realistic humanism and democratism, which means rule according to the will of the majority in the interests of all working people." (The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Certain Issues of Building Socialism in the USSR. Comrade Yuriy Andropov's article in KOMMUNIST. RUDE PRAVO 24 February 1983, page 6)

Comrade Yu. Andropov spoke of collectivism not in the sense of the narrow framework of psychologically understood interhuman, group relations, but in the sense of the broad scale of social relations. At the ideological plenum in June 1983, in connection with the analysis of the level of development achieved in the advanced socialist society, he also unambiguously cited collectivism in this broad ideopolitical sense when he said: "This is a society in which the economic base, the social structure, and the political system--which fully correspond to socialist principles--have already been fully established and in which socialism is developing, as we say, on its own collectivist foundations." (Speech by Yu. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, submitted at the CPSU Central Committee session. RUDE PRAVO, 16 June 1983, page 6)

The socially broad understanding of collectivism, as was formulated by Comrade Yu. Andropov at the CPSU Central Committee's November Plenum and affirmed by the deliberations of the CPSU Central Committee's ideological plenum in June 1983, literally opens up new horizons for these topical problems. We have here a theoretical reflection of the objective needs of social development in the direction of intensifying the collectivizing policy of the workers class led by the communist party--we are dealing here with the advance of socialist democracy. In social practice this means a consistent integration of the social production process, which ensures the development of individual, differentiated spheres of man's activity within the framework of the general laws governing social development. The November Plenum of 1982 and the ideological plenum of June 1983 are becoming a powerful ideological impetus for developing the entire width of social relations on the principle of collectivism--an impetus for the further development of socialist social relations, aimed at an all-round advance of science and at its implementation in social practice.

The problems of developing science and of applying it in practice cannot be regarded outside the framework of the social division of labor, outside the framework of the relationship between the workers class and the intelligentsia. Our society is now confronted with the important task of activating the relationship between the production and the management sphere, and the relationship between the workers class and the intelligentsia; and of bringing the individual groups of the social class structure in socialist society closer together.

Both in the Soviet Union and in our own country we are dealing with basic solutions for newly emerging situations in the internal life of society, side by side with the more demanding external economic relations. The

measures taken in the USSR, as well as in the CSSR, proceed from the specific conditions of the two countries and follow the general logical trend of the need to further develop and expand collectivism in the course of the socialist society's progress toward communism.

Within the framework of newly established economic relations, both the USSR and our own country are making wider use of the brigade form of organizing and stimulating labor, as a means of transferring collectivism from the material base to all spheres of social life; as a means of making it easier for collectivism, which is the essential feature of the workers class, to penetrate all social groups; as a launching pad for the further all-comprehensive collectivization of the socialist society in the current very complicated international situation.

The implementation of the brigade form of organizing and stimulating labor leads in practice to a cementing of basic work collectives and contributes to improving interhuman relations; by its collectivist impact it reaches far beyond their framework. It contributes to enhancing discipline, but it also operates in a positive direction to increase the discipline and responsibility of management staff. In its consequences it also ensures the growth of their authority which is needed in management work.

The collectivizing pressure noted above, which stems from the needs of material production and which is transformed into a political force of the growing role of the workers class and its vanguard, the communist party, increases the working people's participation in the management of society and is a welcome help for professionally and politically mature executives. The leading staff that have the support of a well cemented collective in pushing through the all-social interests have achieved very good results in the secrets entrusted to them.

The brigade form of organizing and stimulating labor represents, on a broad social scale, an indispensable educational factor in strengthening work discipline. In this way work discipline becomes an important element on the path to eliminating individualist phenomena that are hostile to the socialist society; and this includes manifestations of the alienation of work itself. Work discipline creates favorable conditions for overcoming socially undesirable trends that are sometimes aimed at underrating subjective factors, and for overcoming subjective possibilities of redemption that lead to excuses claiming "objective causes." At times the impression is created that there is some sort of "vicious circle" of objective causes and difficulties and that in order to get out of it there must be a collective effort by the people, there must be truthful knowledge and corresponding class-political collectivist viewpoints must be implemented. In brief, the collectivist discipline inherent to the workers class in this way simultaneously contributes to higher labor productivity and an improvement in human relations.

The developing socialist society creates objective conditions for fulfilling real human needs, needs that are individually collectivist. It creates

conditions for the emergence, development, and fulfillment of higher, specifically human needs. It supports man's all-round development, the development of his collectivist individuality, his truly creative abilities. L. Stoll's words are fully valid here: "If there is anything truly modern, then it is this new collectiveness, and the new way of thinking that stems from it--the new sentiment, the new collectivist emotionality..." (L. Stoll: On Modernness and on Modernism in Art. Prague, Czechoslovak Writer, 1974, page 98)

A person to whom narrow egotistic interests are alien, who bases his activity on the principles of collectivism, fulfills a progressive role in society. Only this kind of person is capable of following the logical historical development, is capable of activity that pursues his own personal development through the development of society as a whole. Of course, to rely on the automatic operation of "objective conditions," on evolution, and to underrate active, conscious activity, means to understand the logical historical development in a distorted way.

The socialist society is confronted by a serious non-too-easy task: to merge all parts of the social production organism, all spheres of man's activity and of the activity of individual people, into a close-knit collectivist collaboration. How, how far and how well this task is done ultimately depends on man, on the activity of the broad strata of working people. We need here a systematic, constant effort, aimed at enabling collectivism to permeate the entire structure of relations in the socialist society so that it is more and more emphatically implemented in the cooperation of socialist countries, so that it encompasses the broadest social connections, and permeate the everyday personal life of an individual.

The main burden in the struggle to preserve world peace rests on the Soviet people; and the greatest share of responsibility for the development of world socialism and for successfully defending peace in the world rests on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the key collectivizing factor in the just struggle of the world's progressive forces against the forces of reaction. In Czechoslovakia, our working people decided in February 1948 to follow the socialist path of social development. Together with the workers class, led by the CPCZ with Klement Gottwald, outstanding representative of the international communist and workers movement, our working people took, at the side of the Soviet Union, the path of socialism, progress, and peaceful coexistence with all peoples in the world.

CSO: 2400/313

ENTERTAINERS TO KEEP PACE WITH SCIENTIFIC, ARTISTIC PROGRESS

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 29, 8 Mar 84 pp 4-5

/Article by Dr Lutz Kirchenwitz, of the directorate general of the committee for entertainment: "Entertainment Has a High Social Position"/

/Text/ Thanks to the joint efforts of professional and amateur artists, entertainers and representatives of other arts and cultural facilities, producing and distributing institutions, state and social management organs, entertainment has obtained a high social position. It provides recreation, relaxation and enjoyment; it contributes to an atmosphere of zest for living and readiness to perform. In its multiple aspects it is a process of public consensus on the ideals and values of socialism, social communications and the active commitment of individual abilities.

Especially following the Eighth SED Congress, we succeeded in more comprehensively and variously satisfying the needs of the working people and, in particular, the young for entertainment and sociability. The offer of appropriate productions, events and broadcasts has increased. Public dances, for example, attract 120 million visitors per annum, press, popular and local festivals 60 million, social events in clubs and houses of culture 20 million, the programs offered by the concert and traveling theatrical show organizations 14 million visitors. The most popular entertainment broadcasts on television and radio reach millions in the cities and the countryside. Record copies of popular rock groups and soloists are sold in the hundred thousands. By way of the mass media and tours to all regions of our country, a total of 9,000 entertainers shape a goodly part of the cultural life in the GDR.

Changes have occurred in the textual definition of many important sectors of entertainment. New realities and experiences, attitudes and needs are being expressed. The socialist society and everyday life in it are more comprehensively and variously valued. The crucial issues of our age, especially the struggle for the preservation of world peace, are also reflected by many rock musicians, songwriters, singers, cabaret artists and other entertainers as well as more than 200 new songs, lyrics and sketches. Many enjoy great popularity.

The progress achieved in various areas of the entertainment arts with regard to relevance, artistic quality and mass efficacy was expressed in visible terms by the 1983 Seventh Performance Show of the Entertainment Arts in Magdeburg.

Breadth and variety, mass nature and sophistication were demonstrated by many new, original and popular events.

Still, our achievements in the entertainment arts do not yet represent everything that could be done. Too much of it is still ideologically and professionally inadequate, and we are experiencing a scissors effect between quantity and quality. The advancing intensification of all social processes, the generation of new opportunities for information and communication, the rising cultural standards of the working people and the acute conflict of the social systems will continue to raise challenges to the originality, quality and mass efficacy of entertainment. National productions and performances must keep pace with the rapid international scientific-technical and artistic advances, will be increasingly judged by international quality criteria.

To the extent that GDR entertainment creatively incorporates all progressive and humanist national traditions, the social and cultural experiences of the socialist fraternal countries and productive inspirations from international cultural developments and, at the same time, refines its own socialist quality, its national and international attraction grows. We need the greatest possible mass efficacy, ideological effect and artistic quality in entertainment. We must continue to pursue everything that has been proven successful and already enjoys the approval of the mass public. At the same time, new artistic productions and experiments, inventive and imaginative events and transmissions need to be encouraged, the range and variety of artistic styles extended and the involvement of the public as an active and creative partner strengthened.

The Karl Marx Stadt Conference of GDR Entertainers on 23 and 24 March will discuss the achievements recorded since the 1973 establishment of the Committee for Entertainment and the 1978 Conference on Entertainment, the best way to keep implementing the Tenth SED Congress Resolutions and the consequences arising from the challenges of the 1980's and the new conditions of our social development.

For the entertainment arts in the 1980's to be equal to the growing demands, we need the attention of all social forces, must create the conditions suitable for stimulating professional and original artistic performances. In past years the operations of the Committee for Entertainment and its nine study groups--variety arts, singers/songwriters, discotheque, interpreters, jazz, orchestra conductors, rock and dance--have served to improve the cooperation between state and social institutions and the largely self-employed entertainers' greater involvement in management and planning. It will be necessary to improve state management in the field of entertainment and increase labor union activities, especially in the regions. We have an opportunity as well as the necessity to march forward to a new quality of work in the field of entertainment. The conference will create important prerequisites for this effort.

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CSO: 2300/399

CULTURE MINISTER SETS THEATER TARGETS, TACTICS

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 39 No 3, Mar 84 (signed to press 23 Jan 84) p 66

[Article by Hans-Rainer John, chief editor: "Theater Directors' Seminar 1984--Significant Speech by Culture Minister Hoffmann"]

[Text] The annual seminar for GDR stage directors, held for the purpose of exchanging information and experiences and for further education (first held in 1974) took place during three days in the latter half of January. Culture Minister Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann's opening address concerned current evaluations of the Seventh Central Committee Conference in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the GDR. The present complicated international situation, made even more difficult by imperialism, requires that the struggle for peace be led with even greater determination, he said. And naturally those in the theatrical arts can also contribute to this cause by employing their wealth of talents in order to give people the strength and optimism to complete the task of further strengthening the GDR.

The theatrical apparatus must be kept intact, accomplishments must be protected and available capabilities must be used. At the same time the search for new theatrical forms, e.g. the trend toward operative theater groups, must be increased if it can be shown that they can achieve meaningful progress or if new audiences (such as in new housing projects and vacation centers, in army units, or among children and teenagers) can be won. The scope of the theater should not be limited but rather expanded in terms of both quality and quantity in order to be able to react effectively to the creative challenges posed by the media (which will have even more influence in the future due to expanded TV reception and sales of video cassettes).

The minister devoted a great deal of attention to the connection between the theater and the working class, collective farmers, industries and combines. He urged that there be increased partnership ties and more sponsorship agreements in the territories. Above all, however, the quality and effectiveness of the theatrical arts must be increased. Naturally, the directors and actors must first enjoy their work. But their enjoyment of the play itself must also be transmitted to the audience and must take into account their expectations and desires. There is certainly a need

for more dialogue between theater people and the public. The performing of period plays in a modern context, unclear speech and the poor aesthetic quality of staging and costuming, for example, are often the cause of critical reactions. Traffic conditions and the problems of daily life as they affect the audience must also be taken into account in determining the scope of an evening at the theater. The concept of the "theater as burgher's horror" is completely inappropriate in the context of our social environment. Trends in this direction must surely be considered an expression of intellectual arrogance. However, the higher level of education and the increased social experiences which distinguish the current public from that of 1945 must certainly be considered. Moralistic teachings from the stage are simply ineffective at a time when the "positive hero" (as portrayed by Gogol) is really represented in the form of the educated audience seated out front. Theater today must reflect a kind of democratic understanding at this same level, bravely posing new questions for discussions of the socialist future.

Further presentations at the seminar included discussions by Dr Wilfried Maass, deputy Minister of Culture (on the contributions of the theater to improved educational and training programs in the advanced and technical schools for the arts), philosopher Dr Erich Hahn ("Values and Life Styles in Socialism") and Dr Friedemann Looock, director of the Advisory Board on Occupational Hygiene for Theaters and Orchestras ("Experiences, Problems and New Tasks in Occupational Medicine for Theater and Orchestra Employees").

12552

CSO: 2300/408

SHORTAGE, LACK OF PROPER EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIALISTS NOTED

Budapest NEPSZAVA 11 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Patricia Molnar: "Too Many Specialists Are Not Enough"]

[Text] Complaints are made of a shortage of specialists while frequently adequate work cannot be given even to the ones we have--experts who work in manpower management at more than one enterprise admit with conviction. In most cases the enterprise leaders themselves do not deny this ambiguous situation. Despite this, it is not realistic for one enterprise--as an adjustment to a change in tasks--temporarily (forgive me: finally) to release its workers to another enterprise.

According to experience, the "loans" are not made because the managers are afraid the workers will be tempted to stay away forever. At the same time it is not an enticing prospect for workers to be loaned out. Rather they agree to go on temporary idle-time pay instead of risking work under unfavorable conditions for a period. In this way, we continue to have a shortage and a surplus at the same time, and sometimes within one enterprise.

Retraining Assistance

The manager of a manpower service office told me recently that as a consequence of the recession several thousand workers at a large megye enterprise are working only in a perfunctory way because of the lack of adequate work. It is true that the workers were not removed from their original jobs. But it is also true that despite such underemployment it attempts to relieve the manpower shortage at another one of its plants by hiring tsz (agricultural producer cooperative) workers.

This situation exists despite the fact that according to government orders issued last year the enterprises may request assistance for organized personnel redeployment. The goal of the order is to assure that the transferred workers will not be put into a disadvantageous material position. According to the most recent orders the support may be extended to retraining within an enterprise where more than 50 persons are affected.

Since last year some of the enterprises have been trying to deal with the tensions deriving from an uneven supply of work by internal redeployments, but according to representative studies this affects at most a small percentage of the workers, and in general remains below 50 persons. But where they have made the attempt,



the redeployment has proved to be an effective means of dealing with work blockages due to lack of organization in the production process and difficulties in material supply.

In general, however, it is characteristic that the economic organizations still do not regard redeployment as an organic part of manpower management. This attitude can also be detected in enterprise plans where it is evident that the managers count on meeting their personnel needs for task fulfillment from external sources. But if they still have to resort to redeployment, they rush into it without appropriately clarifying the requirements, possibilities and individual circumstances of the workers, and in this way they regularly bring about a sense of alienation.

Since last year the production growth rate has declined while the demand for manpower has risen. But the demand is not always well founded. Certain enterprises, for example, planned on an increase in personnel even in cases where it would have accompanied a deterioration in productivity. Only the manpower shortage prevented such efforts. Because of their reliance on the expected economic upswing or for social reasons, the enterprises held on to their workers even if there was no chance to employ them effectively.

All this does not mean, of course, that we simplify or trivialize actual manpower shortages. Increasingly greater problems are being caused, for example, by the shortage of well-trained, experienced and skilled workers. Locksmiths, lathe operators, metal cutters and electricians are in demand in all areas of the economy. But there are shortages of bricklayers, miners, carpenters, painters, trackmen, switchmen, couplers, spinners and store salesmen. Many office jobs are also unfilled: managers are looking primarily for bookkeepers, typists, and pay clerks.

#### Organized for Work Peaks

The shortage continues to be felt most keenly in Budapest and its environs. It is frequently said in industry (as we reported recently) that because of the greater than planned decline in manpower the shortage is obstructing production in more and more places. A role is also played in the increasing enterprise demands by the fact that it is more and more difficult to acquire investment means and materials. The enterprises are trying to make up for these tensions with manpower. And in such a way that they are organizing for work peaks because they are more powerless to confront imported machinery problems than manpower shortages.

Most of the managers try to counter the shortage problem by use of overtime, by wider employment of part-time, elderly, pensioned workers, and second-job workers as well as the formation of business work partnerships.

#### Change the Disadvantage Into an Advantage

Unfortunately, despite the difficulties, the discovery of reserves and the elimination of time losses still play a smaller role than necessary (and possible) in making up for the personnel shortage. The enterprises are not exploiting the possibilities latent in organization at all, and in fact recently there has been retrogression in this regard. Organization according to system-outlook has also

lost ground. If most of the contracts, however, are for the performance of partial tasks which do not fit into the whole, the result is poor.

But in fact the managers could even profit from the reduction in personnel: wage and earnings regulation gives incentive to rational manpower management in that 50 to 60 percent of the wage savings from personnel reduction exceeding 3 percent can be used tax-free for increasing the wage level. But only if this personnel reduction is accepted by the economic organ in the contract and performance is not cut back. The more than 3 percent personnel decline has come about at a number of places, but this still did not result in a wage increase, for the reduction was not consciously undertaken and determined before the contract signing. Although the number of complainers is significant, one study shows that among managers of enterprises producing for export only one out of four blamed the manpower shortage for the lag in exports. One-half of those questioned regarded market limits as the most important cause, and in addition many believed that a lack of organization in the production process, problems of material supply and lax relationships among the enterprises obstructed continuous production and export. Of course, all this cannot divert attention from the shortcomings of manpower management or delay the necessary internal (organization, redeployment, incentive and interest) measures.

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CHURCH - STATE RELATIONSHIP DEBATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Jan 84 pp 106-126

[Articles by Eryk Sztekker, Dionizy Tanalski, Jozef Lipiec, and Wlodzimierz Lebie dzinski: "Concerning Religion and the Denominational Policy"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The goals of socialism in Poland are being accomplished in the presence of a constant and unremitting influence of religion on the awareness of the basic social classes. From this fact ensues the obvious need to develop Marxist studies, particularly studies of the social functions of religion under socialism, as well as of transformations in religious doctrines. The weak development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the sources of religion against the background of the experiences of the close of the 20th century is somewhat alarming. There is a lack of in-depth studies of the causes of the viability of religion under socialism./

/The processes of transformations in social awareness under socialism are of unflagging concern to the Marxist-Leninist parties. In 1983 this problem was raised, among others, at the June Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee./

/Recently these issues have often been considered in Polish publicistic writings. Disputes and discussions concerning the state of social awareness in our country continue. The press is again dealing with issues of religious influences, the attitude of religion toward the state and the party, the changes in the social doctrine of the Church, etc. It should be noted that there is little unanimity on these issues: varied views and attitudes come to light and varied points of view and methodological positions are becoming crystallized within the framework of the polemics./

/Below we present two pairs of polemical articles illustrating the divergences mentioned above. The point of departure for the first pair (by comrades Eryk Sztekker and D. Tanalski) was the article we published concerning the social theory of John Paul II./

/We also decided to publish the polemic between two philosophers, J. Lipiec and W. Lebie dzinski, although it was not triggered by articles published in this periodical. We are doing this not in order to intervene in the course of publicistic polemics being waged on the pages of weeklies, nor under the influence of the stylistic verve of these articles. We publish them because

underlying this polemic are difficult ideological problems that have long and often been discussed within the ranks of our party. We hope that this polemic will serve to perceive the entire acuteness and significance of these issues and provide the inspiration for reflections on these important problems, which should be of concern to the broadest possible aktiv of the party leading our society./

/We want to continue this discussion. We invite further comments./

Eryk Sztekker:

The postwar history of Marxism in Poland does not especially abound in creative discussions and interpretive disputes that could make it markedly more attractive and contribute to a deeper cognition of the reality. As for the views on the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, although here and there differing opinions could be encountered among Marxist authors, in practice there has been no authentic discussion of this subject.

Assessments of the current social doctrine of the papacy are rarely free of the pressure of temporary expediency. This undoubtedly ensues from the fact that the papacy still remains a major socio-political force and the opinions expressed on it involve exposure to certain repercussions which the authors have to consider and assess thoroughly.

In its issue No 5, 1983, NOWE DROGI had published the article "On the Contemporary Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church," by Comrade Dionizy Tanalski. That article prompts me to make various critical comments.

Differences in the interpretation of the Church's social doctrine usually stem from differences in outlook and political attitude. But it also happens that persons representing the same views perceive differing aspects and nuances of that interpretation. This, I believe, applies to the difference in perception between Dionizy Tanalski and myself.

The vision, outlined already in the introduction to that article (p 140), of a Catholic social thought which changes with "increasing rapidity" and whose "development" supposedly occurs in consonance with the law of accelerated development known from the history of science, technology and economics, is a vision that greatly oversimplifies the picture of the highly intricate actual process. It is only when considered holistically that every successive socio-economic formation displays a greater dynamism of changes and development processes than its predecessor. But it is known anyhow that during certain periods, which sometimes even are very long, social relations not only fail to stimulate technological and economic development but obstruct it or even cause its regression. Similar obstructions may arise in all domains of intellectual life. The official Catholic social doctrine is not immune to these patterns of development: in certain periods it has displayed inertia and even regression. Its transformations thus are not of a continuing nature. Were changes to be incessant, there would have been no need, e.g. for the desire of the Second Vatican Council to adapt the Church to our times.

As for the "development" of the Church's social doctrine, as mentioned by Comrade Tanalski, this is a highly debatable issue. What is incontestable alone is the Church's adaptability (much greater than that of the other religions) as well as its variability. Undoubtedly, for example, the ecumenism of the Catholic Church and its gradual adaptation to various cultures in the world reflect a greater tolerance than previously--though often it still is extremely limited--which can be acknowledged as an expression of some growth. On the other hand, certain other aspects of the papacy's social doctrine at present point to some regression (e.g. John Paul II admits, to be sure, the possibility of the expropriation of big proprietors but already he--by contrast with Paul IV--omits the issue of expropriation without compensation). A separate issue, which I will not consider here besides, is whether this doctrine is acquiring higher cognitive values in the course of its evolution and under the pressure of external circumstances.

Comrade D. Tanalski believes that the "increasing rapidity" of the development of the Church's social doctrine is reflected in the increasingly shorter periods of its protestations against the relations reigning in discrete socio-economic formations. To wit, he states: /"periods of the protest of Catholic social thought against the reigning social relations and their corresponding superstructure are becoming shorter and shorter. After three centuries, Early Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire (325 AD, the First Council of Nicaea, convened by Constantine the Great)...[By contrast,] it took the Church only 100 years to accept officially the economic and political principles of capitalism ...and it needed only 40 years to institute changes adapting it to exist and operate in the contemporary divided world..."/ (p 140). The view thus formulated does not seem quite valid to me. First of all, the time it had taken Christianity to accept the Roman Empire and, in the modern era, capitalism cannot be compared with the totally different phenomenon represented by the Catholic Church's adaptation to the new system of relations, which in itself still does not mean its acceptance.

As for the Early Christianity, it was one of the manifestations of protest against particular injustices rather than against the system of slavery as a whole, although the first Christian communities were of a model democratic nature. The protest did not extend either to the entire superstructure (Christianity at the time still did not break out of the "charmed" circle of slavery) but concerned only certain of its aspects (especially denominational ones, though not them alone). Had it been otherwise, Christianity could not have become the state religion in a system based on slavery. On the other hand, the attitude of certain heretical Christian sects reflected an integral protest against the slavery system. Also contrary to the official Church, certain groups of Christians or even individual believers practiced at the time what we would now term terrorism against the rich. At times the elements of Christian ideology reflecting opposition toward the rich and toward social inequalities served as the inspiration or perhaps the pretext for these activities. Similarly, D. T. is hardly justified in linking the beginnings of Christianity as an official religion to the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD with Nicaea located on the shore of the Black Sea, in Bythinia, in the territory of present-day Turkey, and not to be confused with the French Nice). Essentially, this process began some 15 years earlier, immediately after the

so-called Edict of Milan issued by Constantine the Great and Licinius (313 AD), when Christianity began, almost year after year, to be granted the privileges formerly attached to earlier state religions. In this process of the "officializing" of Christianity, the First Council of Nicaea, which, with the participation of Constantine the Great, had formulated the so-called Nicene Credo (among other things, the thesis of Christ's divinity and the condemnation of Arius) was just another even if highly important stage in the transformation of Christianity into the official religion of the Roman state.

In characterizing the social thought of John Paul II, Comrade Tanalski should not have relied solely on his three encyclicals and speech to the participants at the Conference of the Italian Episcopate. This is because the following also are representative of the current stage of evolution of the Church's social doctrine: the adhortation "Familiaris consortio" of John Paul II (of 22 November 1979); his Message to the workers of Central America, Belize and Haiti (8 March 1983); and his speeches--to workers (e.g. at the Solvay Works in Termi in 1981 and at the Livorno Shipyard in 1982); to the factory council of the Magnetti Marelli Works and the Societa Italiana Vetro Concern (1983); in Milan, to industrialists and managers (also in 1983). It would also be indicated to consider the Pope's other comments on social issues, e.g. those voiced at the UN General Assembly (1979), UNESCO (1980), the FAO Assembly (1980), and also at a session of the International Organization of Labor (1982). Disregard of these texts impoverishes the picture of the social doctrine of the contemporary Church and complicates assessing its quality and directions of evolution. We know, for example, that in the Message of John Paul II to the workers of Central America the concept of the so-called just wage was expanded in comparison with the concept presented in his Encyclical "Laborem exercens." In his Message the Pope declared, perhaps under the influence of the concept of optimal conditions for the propagation of culture being implemented in the socialist countries, that wages should be sufficiently high for the worker, together with his family, to "benefit from the blessings of culture" and contribute to elevating it. This modification of the concept of the just wage demonstrates that changes in official Church doctrine may occur not only with the coming of a new Pope but also within the Pontificate itself, which is something that many commentators appear to have overlooked.

Here some inexactitude relating to the period of drafting the Encyclical "Laborem exercens" should be cleared up. Tanalski in this connection gives its date as 15 May 1981 and explains (p 141) that the encyclical was, however, proclaimed only after the Pope's convalescence, i.e. on 14 September 1981. This implies that the Encyclical "Laborem exercens" had not been revised in any way ever since its preparation on 15 May 1981. Yet, as ensues from the account of Andre Frossard,\* the Pope had revised it while still at the Gemelli Clinic and later wrote that he had perused it definitively only after leaving

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\*Andre Frossard, "Fear Not: Conversations With John Paul II," Ed. Libreria Editrice of the Vatican, 1982, p 302.

the hospital. It thus ensues that the versions prepared on 15 May and 14 September 1981 are not identical.

Let me also mention here a delicate matter. In connection with the wounding of John Paul II on 13 May 1981, Tanalski calls him a martyr. Here the author of the article "On the Contemporary Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church" appears to be more papal than the Church itself, since an appellation of this kind is hardly widespread even among Catholics themselves. The papacy's social doctrine deals primarily--in Comrade Tanalski's opinion--with civilization in a more general sense: /"John Paul II takes notice of the existence of two socio-economic systems, but he is rather more concerned with the issue of contemporary civilization in general than with the choice of the system"/ p 141). Farther on, however, Comrade D. Tanalski negates this thesis by pointing to numerous aspects of contemporary social doctrine of the Church that are convergent with bourgeois concepts (e.g. the papal economic theory, p 145, and the ideology of the non-ideology of collective life, p 147). In reality, the papacy's current social doctrine contains--it seems to me--at least as much political content as was contained in previous doctrines. Consider for example the concept of the private ownership of means of production as the basis for a "worthy" system of society, solidarity among antagonistic groups, the concept of social reforms which either are essentially bourgeois or lead to capitalist pluralism. Comrade Tanalski overestimates in this connection the "pioneering spirit" of the criticism of capitalism by John Paul II (p 143), considering that some previous popes already have criticized it sharply. On the other hand, Tanalski is right in stating that the Pope would like to see an improvement in the social status of the plebeian classes (pp 142 and 143). However, the author of "On the Contemporary Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church" overestimates the radicalism of these concepts (consisting in--in his opinion--the autonomy of the exploited classes and their independent decision on their fate), without relating them to the systemic concept ensuing from the whole of the Pope's social views. The social views of the present Pope lie within the framework of bourgeois reformism, which the author of the article does not seem to perceive with sufficient clarity.

During the present Pontificate--in the opinion of Dionizy Tanalski--the social activity of the Church grew weaker: /"...John Paul II is slowing down the Church's social commitment"/ (p 146). Actually, the converse is happening. It was John XXIII and Paul VI who slowed down the Church's political commitment, while John Paul II intensified it markedly, while at the same time abandoning some of its forms (consider, e.g., the speeches of John Paul II in Latin America during the first 10 days of March 1983). Here it should be added that the Church is not always neutral, and its mediations sometimes lack objectivity, in the solutions to various social problems that it suggests to countries with different systems of society.

But while all these facts and circumstances should be borne in mind, one should not overlook the positive aspects of both the Church's social doctrine and the activities of the central authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, which in many instances display realism, flexibility and willingness to compromise. As part of its program, Catholic social doctrine condemns all

physical social confrontations, practically isolating itself from, e.g., extremists in our country and the foreign centers striving to aggravate the tensions in Poland. On the question of our Western and Northern Territories, as well as on issues relating to peace in Europe and the world, the Vatican's position is well-known and consonant with the Polish point of view.\*\* Well-known also is, e.g., the Vatican's sharp reaction to the politically aggressive commentaries by various bourgeois publicists during the second visit of John Paul II to Poland. All this is certainly not to the taste of the world reaction, and it disorients fanatical opponents of socialism, not infrequently arousing among them moods of frustration, explicit or suppressed. And finally, which is no less important, emphasis should be placed here on the undeniable, and consonant with the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council, cooperation of the Roman Catholic Church in our country with our government in various socially important domains (strengthening the family, combatting alcoholism and drug addiction, etc.)

But to return to the article of Comrade Tanalski, it would be worthwhile in this context to draw attention to the fact that such an emphatic advocacy of the creative nature of human labor by the Pope has undoubtedly been influenced by the contemporary concepts derived from the views of K. Marx.

When evaluating the social doctrine of the present Pope, one should not overlook--as Comrade D. Tanalski has done--such significant issues as the softening of the Church's position on civil marriages and divorced persons. Previously the Roman Catholic Church viewed couples united solely by civil marriages as illegitimate unions and applied total ostracism toward divorced persons. But the adhortation "Familiaris consortio" of John Paul II confers a higher rank on civil marriages than on common-law unions,\*\*\* and it grants to divorced persons the right to benefit from the spiritual care of the Church and participate in certain rituals. These new accents in the socio-traditional program of the Church are adapted to a situation in which the

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\*\*The positive implications of this attitude were impaired by the letter, published in September 1983, of Cardinal A. Casaroli, the Vatican's Secretary of State, to the chairman of the Episcopal Conference in Fulda (FRG). In this letter its author appeals--on behalf of the Pope--to the FRG to respect international treaties (and hence also the PRL-FRG Treaty of December 1970), but at the same time he uncritically repeats certain opinions of West German "Landmannschaften" on the circumstances accompanying the deportation of Germans from the Polish Recovered Territories immediately after World War II (cf. Bulletin of the Conference of the West German Episcopate in Fulda, 6 September 1983).

\*\*\*In 1982. There is a growing number of instances in which Catholics prefer only a church wedding, for ideological or practical reasons. The situation of these persons cannot be equated with the situation of those living together outside any form of wedlock, because in this case there exists at least some obligation toward a specific and presumably lasting life situation (quoted from OSSERVATORE ROMANO, No 11, 1981, p 19, Polish edition).



prestige and number of couples united solely by civil marriage are growing and the numbers of divorced persons, on whom the Church's influence is lost, are rising.

One more critical comment: Comrade Tanalski is hardly justified in perceiving within the social doctrine of the present Pope the view that social problems can be resolved solely on the path of moral education (pp 145 and ff). In reality, this doctrine reveals the parallel concept that this education in itself is insufficient, that institutional changes also are needed for a change in attitudes and an effective solution of difficult social problems.

On the other hand, I would include among the undoubted positive elements in Comrade D. Tanalski's article the indication of the complexity of certain of the Church's views on social issues, the valid presentation of various aspects of the Catholic philosophy of labor, and lastly the convincing criticism of the Church's economic concepts.

Dionizy Tanalski:

It is truly gratifying to participate in a creative and authentic discussion and--as Comrade Eryk Sztekker states--to present differing appraisals and nuances within the framework of the same overall outlook. I feel still more gratified because toward the end of his article my critic praises me: he devotes to this a single sentence which mentions both the /"indication of the complexity of certain interpretations of social issues by the Church"/ and the /"cogent presentation of various aspects of the Catholic philosophy of labor"/ as well as the /"convincing criticism of the Church's economic concepts."/ That is a lot for a single sentence and, truth to say, I wonder how is that enigmatic final sentence to be related to nine pages of criticism that precede it. If it is intended as a polite gesture of courtesy, I am very grateful.

I feel a kind of stagefright: can I cope with a creative and authentic polemic that is supposed to be recorded in the postwar annals of Marxism in Poland? And moreover: can I withstand the pressures of tactical expediency?

Let us shelve the first question so that we might not be at times carried away by megalomania, but the second question is vital. After all, Comrade Eryk Sztekker was hardly joking when he mentioned the pressure of tactical expediency. This accusation is too clear and serious, and it concerns the sincerity of my article rather than mere differences in overall outlook, and at the same time it implies that my critic is free of that pressure and explaining the true situation to me.

The issue transcends a personal dispute. It is broader and, as known, it has been considered for centuries by many authors, including Marxists. This concerns the possibility of existence of any knowledge of the world and its aspects, as well as of any interpretation of perceptions, that would not be /someone's/ knowledge and interpretation, that is, that would not be the knowledge and interpretation of some particular author involved in a particular situation and cognizing, responding and reasoning in the manner characteristic of him...that is, that would be the knowledge and interpretation of some "pure" impersonal and universal reason. True, there exist theories implying the possibility of achieving such a cognitive state: the numerous positivist, neo-positivist and phenomenological theories. So far, however, none of these theories could withstand penetrating criticism and what is more, genuine knowledge, meaning knowledge that functions in both theory and practice, is generally accepted as someone's knowledge and as being conditioned by various circumstances--as relatively genuine (as Marxists say). If that is precisely so, then--of course--I am not free of pressures of various kind and I am aware that I cannot be free of them, like any other normal individual. But that is something else than devoting an article on a serious issue, in a periodical that after all is a serious one, by an author whose name is given, to circumstances of tactical expediency.

The author reproaches me for referring only to three encyclicals and one speech of John Paul II, instead of citing many other texts as well--and he specifies which texts. Pious wish! Of course, I am familiar with many other texts of Paul II in addition to those cited in my article, and perhaps they should have been cited instead. That is a question of choice, which may prove more or less pertinent, but let me clarify the circumstances under which my article was published. The editors commissioned me to write an overall review of the evolution of the contemporary doctrine of the Catholic Church (and not just of John Paul II). I accepted the commission and carried it out, but in a somewhat expanded version. The editors suggested that I shorten it, and I

agreed, and that is how was deleted a fairly large part which, if retained, would have changed the article's complexion somewhat, and which cited other sources as well--not just the texts of John Paul II. The proportions of my article had changed--and so did the views of John Paul II, which had previously been only a part of my narrative (to be sure, a substantial part, but still only a part of a greater whole), which now accounted for nearly its entirety. Yet, as known, a review of the evolution of an institution's doctrine is written in one way and a review of the views of a single author in another.

Regarding the merit of certain comments of Comrade Sztekker, let me point out that his general assessment of the views of John Paul II is somewhat more favorable to the Pope than that contained in my article. What is more, had I written that article following the second visit of John Paul II to Poland, my assessment would have been still more severe--and that for just one but basic reason (and rather for reasons of tactical expediency). Please consider that the Pope, who speaks so much of dialogue and who, emulating his predecessors, appeals for dialogue so ardently and with such emphasis, has not noticed that social structures intended chiefly to promote dialogue are being reconstructed so arduously, and perhaps even built anew, in Poland. I refer to trade unions and [worker] councils in industry, farmer unions and, primarily, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). I am aware that many people in Poland do not like the PRON chiefly because it is the political authorities of the PRL that participate in it and have been very actively supporting its birth and development, inasmuch as--in the opinion of opponents of the PRON--the motives of the authorities are not sincere. The evaluation of the motives of the authorities is a question of the state of the awareness of the individuals doing the evaluation--it is a question of the information available to them and their ideological and political maturity. I do not wish to go into this matter; I only wish to say that it is deeds that reveal motives best. And these deeds have been sufficiently numerous and are clear and evident. Now John Paul, appealing in Poland for dialogue, behaved like a man who is not informed of the PRON's existence and is unaware that the authorities, through the mediation of the PRON, desire to conduct and are conducting dialogue and are stretching their hand for cooperation. The fact exists, the deeds exist, and it is, to say the least, surprising that the Pope, who has long been preaching the philosophy and program of deeds, does not want to notice these deeds. How can the intentions of the authorities be revealed? On the basis of their deeds. And it is precisely their deeds that demonstrate their desire for dialogue! With whom is the discussion to be conducted and how, if the PRON is ignored? The lesson learned from the meeting between Deputy Premier Rakowski and the workers of the Gdansk Shipyard is sufficiently eloquent. Are perhaps the non-PRON partners in the dialogue to be the hecklers at the meeting-room door who were unable to formulate a single logical sentence but noisily supported their "Lech"? Comrade Sztekker points out that the positive aspects of the Church's social doctrine and the activities of the central authorities of the Roman Catholic Church should not be overlooked. That is so. They should not be overlooked, and I try to hew to this principle. But what is missing in my polemic with him is Comrade Sztekker's sufficient sensitivity to the inconsistency demonstrated by John Paul II during his visit

to Poland in supposedly appealing for dialogue but failing to notice the dialogue actually in progress.

My polemical adversary justly observes that the narrative of history cannot be oversimplified, that every socio-economic formation consists of diverse elements whose dynamism varies, that its transformations are discontinuous in nature, that the date of the First Nicene Council is conditional, etc. Were he willing to consider seriously the following passage from my article, he would surely spare me this lecture. For I had stated very clearly that "Of course, the above dates should be considered conditional; they have a meaning only in the perspective of the two millennia of existence of Christianity, for in reality these changes had been processes continuing over decades and, with respect to the transition from slavery to feudalism, centuries. In addition, it also is only in terms of this great historical perspective that Catholic thought can be conditionally considered. For in reality, in addition to the official statements of the Roman bishops, that thought also consists of comments that not infrequently differed greatly from the opinion of the Roman popes (after all, there had also existed 'anti-popes'), and moreover it includes contributions from many Catholic authorities and many writers and ideologists whose views differed and still differ." Yet my critic disregarded the above passage, and it is thus that we both now can make a creative contribution to the development of Marxism in postwar Poland.

I am not aware, however, why /"the periods of time needed by Christianity to accept the Roman Empire and, in the modern age, capitalism, cannot be compared to the totally different phenomenon represented solely by the Church's adaptation to the new system of relations, which in itself still does not mean their acceptance"/. As to whether that adaptation does or does not mean acceptance, that is a question of how one looks at it. I believe that the Catholic Church has no choice. No one has asked it to agree to socialism and it cannot now "cover" socialism on the world map, because that would not change anything in reality. If, however, the Church is adapting itself then obviously it generally recognizes facts, including also the fact of the existence of socialism. Why should we regard our contemporary history as not comparable to previous history? Are we contemporaries so exceptional and unprecedented? Let us put an end to this megalomania, which besides has always been part of every existing culture. There is nothing new under the sun, including the conviction of inimitable novelty!

The author of the criticism believes that I am wrong in ascribing to John Paul the idea of relying on moral and religious upbringing as the only (or main) avenue of action, and he points out that the Pope also appeals for the solution of difficult social problems through the introduction of institutional changes. Yes, John Paul II has more than once been proposing "structural changes" in the economy and policies of, especially, the Third World countries, as well as for establishing various institutions on the worldwide scale. But at the same time, and with increasing emphasis at that, he has been opposed to the solution of social problems through the introduction of the organized social force of the working, exploited and politically oppressed classes into economic and political life--precisely in the "Third World," where social injustice is at its worst. How is then the

value of the social teachings of John Paul II to be assessed? Do they contain postulates, admonitions, criticism? They do, indisputably. This has always been so to this day in the entire history of Christianity, which has never been, and is not now either, indifferent to social issues. But do the teachings of John Paul II contain indications of how to translate these postulates into reality? The Pope mentions, like many Christian teachers so far: morality, love, charity, faith. We are familiar with these values. They are priceless values, and the first three of them are priceless to every normal and sensitive individual, including Marxists and atheists. As for faith, that can also be valued by unbelievers, since it contributes to the solution of social problems. But in my opinion, the Pope's mistake consists in the conviction that the economic, political and military forces oppressing the dispossessed working people will recede of themselves under the pressure of appeals for morality, love and charity without being exposed to the pressure of the sufficiently effective social force of the oppressed themselves. I am not accusing contemporary Catholic social doctrine of not proposing changes. What I accuse this doctrine of, and especially the doctrine preached by John Paul II, is that it does not propose sufficiently effective methods for introducing these changes and thereby it condemns the victims of social injustice to suffer while waiting until the economically and politically dominant classes, which apply their social force unscrupulously and brutally toward dispossessed working people and toward the unemployed, will offer these people their love and charity--will offer them social justice. I am not against a moral life--that would be nonsense, and I am not against love and charity either, but I am against supplanting effective means with ineffective ones; I am against consent to social sufferings. I think that on this issue there exist no differences between me and my polemical adversary--and if that is so, let us give credit to the praiseworthy part of the teachings of John Paul II--for it is sizable, rather than to what is precisely the weakest part of them.

Finally there is the matter regarded as delicate by Comrade Sztekker and in connection with which he calls me more papal than the Church itself. To wit, I called John Paul II a martyr. My polemical adversary points out that this term is hardly widespread even among Catholics. But so what? That is a matter of their personal tact and culture, as well as of the personal tact of John Paul II. But the fact remains that the Pope was shot at, and so effectively moreover that he was seriously wounded and had to undergo a major course of treatment. Formerly martyrs had to be caused pain and suffering by means of ropes, knives, clubs and fire; nowadays it is enough to shoot them from a distance--it is simple, easy and equally effective. Let these differences in circumstances not obscure the heart of the matter to us. I believe that we need not feel bound in this matter by Catholic terminology. Let us be creative at least in this matter.

Jozef Lipiec:

Recently a weekly had published an extensive article by Wlodzimierz Lebledzinski, "The Party and State and the Religion and the Church" (RZECZYWISTOSC, 25 September 1983). Without denying the intent of that article and particularly its sincerity, which is a special virtue of the

author--and which I personally admire at that--I cannot but notice that some of its passages evoke doubts if not perturbation.

First of all, let us consider minor aspects, relating to Wlodzimierz Lebie dzinski's disagreement with the thesis I had put forward (concerning my reflections on state-Church relations in the article "Which Socialism" (TU I TERAZ, No 7, 1983). The complete text of that thesis (the fifth in sequence) is presented below:

/"There is no need to create a vehicle for a denominational struggle for power; hence, political parties should not base themselves on the criteria of the metaphysical convictions of their members, and instead they should base themselves on the criteria of the social programs they advocate."/

To put it in more colloquial language, my statement meant that it would be harmful to the state to open, or even consider opening, a political front that would resemble the religious wars known in history. In a nutshell, I questioned the validity of the idea of the possibility of establishing some political substitute [organization] for the community of the believers. This is a view I adhere to, and I hope that W. Lebie dzinski also does not perceive a need for establishing in Poland a mass Catholic party as a political continuation of the religious mission of the Church or for any other substitutes of this kind with respect to the community of believers (who precisely meet that criterion of "metaphysical convictions"). I believe that this is needed neither by the Church nor by the state, in which operate organizations associating Catholics, with many Catholics being active within the PRON. I assume that W. Lebie dzinski misunderstood me somehow although I wish to praise his perceptiveness in being willing to extrapolate the above thesis to a broader background, that is, to derive a common criterion applying to all parties, including the Marxist-Leninist party as well (hence his maneuver consisting in the ingenious deletion of half of a sentence and the context of my article). Let me say that I continue to subscribe, and firmly at that, to the formulation of my thesis as a whole (that is, to the second part of my thesis taken separately as well). To wit, I believe that no party in Poland, including above all the Marxist-Leninist PZPR, should base itself on the criteria of the metaphysical convictions of its members instead of on the criteria of its social program. Politics is the domain of the struggle of social classes rather than of some disputes among metaphysicians. I cannot even imagine that a Marxist could agree, first, that metaphysics in general can be included in the program of a political party (I am not going to explain the meaning of the term "metaphysics" to my fellow-philosopher, because this just is not done); secondly, that this can be a criterion for membership in a really existing political movement; and thirdly, that this could become the sole criterion. If there exist views--ensuing sometimes from a particular professional bias--to the effect that a party should be an assemblage of metaphysicians à rebours, I am sincerely sorry that such views exist. I am convinced that, on thinking this over, W. Lebie dzinski will share my standpoint--at least in his capacity as the author of the recent article, "The Concept of the Scientific Nature of the Marxist World Outlook," included in the book "Nauka i swiatopoglad" [Science and World Outlook] (of which I was the editor). I would feel saddened if it were to turn out that the author now

wants to reduce his own definition of a /Marxist world outlook/ (p 357) to one of its strata (and a "metaphysicalized" one to boot).

After this preamble let me pass on to the fundamental issue. W. Lebie dzinski cites in his article a plank of the party program adopted at the 9th Congress and then subjects it to a rather odd, because frivolous, criticism. The wording of that plank is as follows: /"The party also accepts believing working people into its ranks. It enables them to ply political activities in consonance with the principles of its program, it supports as a whole the scientific world outlook and it wages in that spirit educational and upbringing activities." What is the intent of W. Lebie dzinski's public disapproval of the congress resolution? To wit, he objects that the party's program (in the part quoted above) is not too "clear," and chiefly that its wording displays /"flawed logic"/. Let us consider the validity of the latter accusation, because it is a grave one. The critic declares that "if the party as /a whole/ supports the scientific world outlook then this must necessarily apply to /each and every one/ of its members as well. After all, each is a part of the whole." What does this signify? It signifies, no more and no less, that Lebie dzinski takes the extremely reductionist view that the whole has the same rights and attributes as its parts. Marxism has been long and persistently combatting this anti-dialectical simplification and it might seem that the dispute has been conclusively resolved. It turns out that it is not completely so. Were one to adopt the reductionist view, one could be open to the accusation of discord with reality on any issue, and hence also to ridicule. How would we respond to the assertion that, inasmuch as a publicistic writer is impetuous and naive (as a whole), therefore every one of the cells of which he consists displays the same qualities? I emphasize: reductionism or nonreductionism manifests itself with respect to any and hence also every issue, whether this concerns purely physical matter or societal existence or products of the human mind (including views). Considering that the thesis of symmetry is among the irreducible principles of reductionism, it can be concluded that a person who questions a given plank of the party's program on the grounds of flawed logic by the same token accuses the whole program of displaying flawed logic. I believe that such an accusation would of a certainty be unfair and unjust, in this particular case, but even so the author has to be reproached for his willingness to infer conclusions which turn out to be logical traps.

This also concerns Lebie dzinski's next argument, regarding quantifier analysis. According to Lebie dzinski, "pursuant to the large logic quantifier, exceptions are not possible" (farther on this concerns the relationship between the whole and each of its parts). We encounter another misunderstanding: quantifiers are applied in the theory of logic sets, but the party, as a living organism, is not such a set. Anyone who believes that the party--and let us spell this out: the Marxist-Leninist party--is solely and exclusively a set of its members (and as such, amenable to operations with a large quantifier), supports /sociological nominalism/, that well-known neopositivist interpretation of the problem of social structures. This is not the place for any broader elaboration of a problem of theory important to Marxism, so let me only say briefly that the Leninist concept of a political party has nothing in common with the nominalist theory. What is more, if we

adopt the view that the attributes of the party as a whole are nothing else than the attributes, defined by the large quantifier, of all of its members (and vice versa), the party's structure would have become impossible, as would its constitutive principles and primarily democratic centralism. What is more, the party would then be menaced by vulgar sociology, because once it turns out that--contrary to Lebedzinski's assertion--the statistical "majority" does not meet some one of the ideologically important criteria of membership, then the party as /a whole/ should humbly acknowledge this by transforming itself into a new quality. I am opposed to such a mechanistic methodological approach. In the case considered (believers among party members) I share the anxieties expressed by Lebedzinski, but what of it considering that his theoretical options prove to be an obstacle to intentionally justified practical endeavor? I also do not regard as felicitous the coy eristic maneuver which essentially means that, in order to express some personal views, the author thought it necessary to distance himself from the logic of a party resolution--which incidentally is binding upon all of its members. Are not attacks against the party from the outside (and from Gdansk as well) enough?

W. Lebedzinski often quotes Lenin. He has but to be given credit for this, since Lenin's thought is hardly often referred to in ideological disputes, as is even more rarely Leninism as a method for the creative solution of the problems ensuing from the reality rather than from books or reflections. However, in quoting Lenin's comments, or rather in extending as it were the passage quoted from "The Life of the Party" (V.I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 15, pp 302-303), Lebedzinski attributes to Lenin his own opinion. In effect, the passage from Lenin is quoted as follows: /"But such a case clearly could be only a rare exception even in Europe, while in Russia (and the more so in Poland--W.L.) it is simply unlikely..."/ (Ibid., p 403). It may be that Lebedzinski is right when this particular case is considered on its own merit (this concerns the theoretical possibility that a priest could be a member of the social democratic party). But it is the principle itself that is concerned. This arbitrary insertion of one's personal view into Lenin's thought is an example of a unique historical nonchalance. Lenin certainly did not prepare an abstract formula with a blank space for inscribing therein various arbitrary specific cases by the posterity: he was simply writing about the situation of Europe and Russia in his own times, which he had researched thoroughly, and I am by no means certain that he would want his specifically conditioned historically statement on reality to be altered by inserting into it another concept--that is, "and the more so in Poland," which refers to the Poland of the 1980s.

It is assuredly worthwhile to employ the Leninist principle of historicism. Lebedzinski states: /"V. I. Lenin does not at all reject the criterion of world outlook within the party, although under certain conditions he does not regard it as fundamental," but "justifying" as it were this view, he adds that it was expressed "during the unusually difficult period of Russian Social Democrats."/ We are thus arriving at a formulation of the problem of diagnosing the current situation in Poland. This is the paramount issue to any political thought relating to the reality. At its 9th Congress the party acknowledged the necessity of evaluating the situation as difficult and



complex. The successive plenary sessions and public comments of Gen Jaruzelski and other party activists pointed to the crisis situation in, especially--which must be of special significance to the Marxist--the economy, that basic foundation of the entire existence and awareness of society. The party had moreover to operate in the presence of an exacerbated class struggle on the world scale and a massed political-economic and propaganda attack against the socialist system in Poland. How can one then justify the implied rejection of the thesis of "certain conditions" and the "unusually difficult period" for present-day Poland? By textual faithfulness? By absorption in the past? Is it that only formerly communists had the right to distinguish themselves by their cognitive realism, political perception and ability to construct alliances and properly determine priorities? Being aware of the realities--chiefly as regards the working class (let alone the peasantry)--means that well-considered conclusions should be inferred from them. In one place Lebledzinski states: "/The Polish society is for various reasons to a large extent a society of believers,"/ while in another he writes "/The criterion of world outlook is becoming...for awhile, ranked secondary in importance compared with the need to struggle for a socialist shape of social transformations"/ (without elucidating the essential question of how is that "awhile" to be construed). However, he does not hesitate to offer a categorical postulate as regards mobilizing believing workers and peasants for party membership: "/Not more should be admitted than can be indoctrinated by the party organization within a relatively brief period of time."/ Is that pure idealism or pure abstractionism? The pragmatics of such recommendations would result in absurd situations such as the following: an honest although believing worker applies to join the party, but he meets with a polite rejection on the grounds that the local plant party organization "could not cope with indoctrinating him in the spirit of materialist ontology within a brief period of time." This is a dangerous pragmatism. Our author displays a praiseworthy solicitude for haste ("awhile," "a brief interval of time") and seems to remain less concerned about the other things. And yet, it might be more advisable to reverse this sequence, that is, first to solve the fundamental problems and then to build on this soil permanent transformations in other fields. There are individuals who--ardent, principled and impelled by sincere motives as they are--being fired by an understandable enthusiasm for giving advice without showing too much concern for its theoretical substantiation and especially for practical consequences, can cause special problems by their hyperactivism.

Wlodzimierz Lebledzinski:

In his article "The Visit" Prof J. Szczepanski formulated a thought whose social significance is terrifying but which I believe to be almost true: "/No freethinker would dare to cast doubt on any thesis pertaining to the Church and the Pope. In socialist Poland in 1983 nothing has remained of the inter-war anticlericalism of the intelligentsia"/ (POLITYKA, 23 June 1983). To be sure, expressions like "no freethinker" and "nothing has remained" are of a certainty exaggerated; nevertheless J. Szczepanski characterized cogently the complexity of the situation in which we are living.

The inter-war anticlericalism, sometimes perhaps excessive and even brutal, had been a response to the growing theocratic supremacy of the Church. The freethinkers of that era [1919-1939] struggled courageously, with great devotion and at the risk of their health and loss of personal freedom, for a secular nature of public life. H. Wronski, for example, ended his article "Infamy! The Senate of the Republic Has Acknowledged the Pope's Sovereignty Over Poland" with the words: /"And the slogan under which this struggle for a new Poland is to be fought must be the motto of cultural Germany 60 years ago: Rome out!"/ (WOLNOMYSLICIEL POLSKI, 1929, No 10, p 3). Jerzy Paczkowski, in his turn, composed this couplet:

Two reasons are there why of Poland I'm weary:  
Too much holy water and too little soap ordinary.

( WIADOMOSCI LITERACKIE, 11 December 1932)

Nowadays we live in a qualitatively different socio-economic and political situation. Reviving the methods used by the inter-war freethinkers in their struggle will be useless. Besides, it is not necessary. But one fact observed by J. Szczepanski remains indisputable: Polish intelligentsia in 1983 lacks the courage to combat clericalism that had characterized the freethinkers of the inter-war period. And yet, attempts at clericalizing our societal life are obvious. This does not refer to religious faith, which is the personal business of the citizens and protected by the Constitution. This refers to purposeful activities intended to seize control of public life in the secular state by the Church and the clergy. This alarms every thinking individual, including many believers themselves. The voices of protest by isolated intellectuals are feeble and ineffective, and they meet with violent ripostes, most often coming from among the "Marxists" themselves.

It can be said without any great exaggeration that a tendency toward neutralizing the world outlook of Marxism has arisen in Poland. Its exponents usually are individuals who subjectively call themselves Marxists or who have until recently been declaring their attachment to the scientific world outlook. We are dealing, to be more precise, with attempts at: a) demonstrating that supposedly the theory of scientific socialism, and hence also the practice of building socialism, is unrelated to Marxist philosophy; b) justifying the reasons why the communist party need not base its activities on Marxist philosophical standpoints; c) exploring Christian inspirations in the process of building socialism, or explicitly linking Marxism to Christianity; d) excluding philosophical materialism from Marxism; e) eliminating historical materialism from the scope of Marxist philosophical materialism and regarding it as an extra-philosophical sociological theory. These tendencies are intended to shape a universal conviction that it is possible to build socialism not necessarily on the foundations of the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism, and that even if it were not possible then it would have to be thoroughly revised, especially in the philosophical plane.

Aside from and parallel to economic activities, ideological work occupies a leading place in the process of building socialism. After all, socialism

cannot be built without socialist awareness, in addition to the basic assumptions of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. In the Politburo report that he had presented at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Comrade J. Czyrek said:/"It is the duty of Marxist humanistics to imbue the philosophical, social and ethical orientation of youth with the spirit of our ideals"/ (TRYBUNA LUDU, 15-16 Oct 1983). This statement applies equally to the entire society and above all to the party collective. But a particularly important task under current Polish conditions is the propagation of the scientific world outlook. W. Jaruzelski wrote: /"It is the party's duty to augment the influence of Marxist materialism on the principal domains of the spiritual life of the people"/ (TRYBUNA LUDU, 10 Oct 1983). The tasks so formulated merely require a consistent practical implementation. This is to be promoted by various institutions, mass media and, above all, the cadre of scientists and propagandists at various levels.

For some time, however, we have been observing a disturbing phenomenon: indoctrination in theory, outlook and ideology has been reduced to purely political and, in that sense, practical indoctrination. This maneuver characterizes not only the mass media but also part of our scientists-ideologists. This is definitely a harmful attitude. Without going into details it can be stated that no sensible compromise whatsoever is possible between Marxism and non-Marxism in the domain of ideology and world outlook. Any such compromise would be destructive to both Marxism and non-Marxism. After all, we do not speak of a compromise between truth and falsity. In politics, on the other hand, compromises are not only useful but also absolutely necessary. Hence, the reduction of ideology to politics results in confusion of concepts, planes and levels of disputes or accords. It thus implies various practical directives. When reduced to politics, the Marxist-Leninist theory becomes subject to political criteria alone. I do not mean, of course, that politics should be isolated from ideology, which should provide for it the foundation of theory. I do not claim either that politics is alien and completely unrelated to ideology. I am simply warning against the consequences of the abovementioned reductionism, which even now sometimes has led to mistakes and misunderstandings. Consider for example the polemical philippic of my worthy colleague J. Lipiec. One simply cannot forbear from mentioning other articles as well that have been published in certain periodicals, especially the article by Z. Rudny in POLITYKA (24 Dec 1983).

To some extent these articles illustrate the aforementioned trend toward neutralizing the Marxist world outlook. Z. Rudny states: /"Attempts to destroy religion by means of liberal methods also would be fruitless, for religion is indestructible. The paramount cause of religious beliefs is rooted not in the class structure of society but in eschatology: so long as man remains mortal the demand for religion shall not disappear. This was foreseen by the French socialist Jean Jaures."/ The passage quoted above from Rudny harbors the thesis that religion is indestructible. This assertion is formulated in categorical terms. Therefore, it requires proof. But Z. Rudny does not bother to substantiate his theses. He infers his conclusion from the fact of human mortality and from Jaure's expectations. At the same time, he is waging a cryptopolemic against Marxism: "/The paramount cause of [religious] beliefs is not rooted in the class structure of society."/ The reservation must be made,

however, that, closely considered, this is not a Marxist claim. Marxism perceives much deeper causes of the genesis and existence of both social classes and religion. Z. Rudny would first have to demonstrate that the Marxist-Leninist analysis of religion, its roots and the social determinants of its existence and propagation is erroneous or insufficiently valid. Only then would other implications be justified. Z. Rudny has not demonstrated this. And yet he points the cutting edge of his unproven criticism in the direction of the materialist-dialectical interpretation of history. The conviction that eschatology is the paramount cause of religious beliefs sounds idealistic.

It cannot be denied, however, that there exist many open questions about religion that still require a scientific illumination. It is not possible to deny either the need for further studies to enrich our knowledge of various aspects of such a complicated phenomenon as human convictions and religious beliefs. Both Marxist theoreticians and Catholics are sufficiently familiar with the doctrines of their adversaries. Ceasing the propagation of the comments of Marx, Engels and Lenin on religion, deeply founded on theory as they are, would not change anything. It would merely point to the abandonment of Marxism. And that is a serious matter. The party cannot cease presenting the philosophical and world-outlook foundations of that program, regardless of tactical or strategic considerations. For that would be program hypocrisy. There is no need for concealing or camouflaging one's own world outlook. By this method we will not win anyone over or solve anything.

The Catholic Church in Poland is not in the least concealing or softening its convictions. The /Pastoral Letter of 15 August 1983 of the Polish Episcopate/, signed by cardinals, archbishops and bishops, states: /"These days the Turkish menace no longer endangers Christianity, but other dangers have arisen. These dangers are atomic war, militant atheism, lack of faith and theoretical and practical materialism."/ Hence, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church considers the danger of militant atheism, lack of faith, and theoretical and practical materialism to be as important as the danger of atomic war. (A kingdom to him who can prove the existence of manifestations of militant atheism in Poland.) This message should surely be regarded as the program for the struggle of the Polish Catholic Church against the secular state and its institutions, the party, secular culture, science (which after all is by nature materialist), etc. It would be a mistake to think that, in view of its knowledge of the intentions of the Catholic hierarchy, the state would break off all contacts with the Church, cease looking for an accord on the most important social issues, etc. The converse also holds true. We are all too familiar with, for example, the intentions of imperialism toward the socialist countries. But anyone who would not explore the possibility of preventing the destruction of mankind owing to thermonuclear war would be making a mistake. Daily life, the structure of social forces, etc. sometimes paralyze the most aggressive intentions. Hence, the logic of Z. Rudny's reasoning is surprising and highly peculiar.

Z. Rudny makes more and more "discoveries." He states: /"It should also be known that the disfavor in which the classics of Marxism hold religion stems not so much from the 'unscientific nature' of the idealist world outlook as

from the mistakes and errors of the great churches integrated with unjust social systems."/ Our polemicist has clearly confused two planes of Marx's reflections. In the theoretical plane Marx regards religion as an unscientific world outlook literally, without enclosing it in inverted commas. He has done so in his numerous strictly scientific analyses. Marx's conclusion was: /"Religion is the opium of the people. True happiness of the people requires abolishing religion as an imaginary happiness of the people"/ (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, p 458). V. I. Lenin also referred to this idea, writing of Marxism as follows: /"As such, it is as implacably hostile to religion as was the materialism of the Eighteenth-Century Encyclopedists or the materialism of Feuerbach"/ (V. I. Lenin, "Works", Vol 15, p 399). This concerns religion, not the Church. In the political plane, the classics of Marxism-Leninism of course perceived the servile role of religion and the Church toward the exploiting classes and systems. Such a role ensued, however, from the nature of religion itself as well as of Church ideology.

A somewhat different polemical approach was chosen by J. Lipiec, as we have said. In principle, he is circling round my article published in the weekly RZECZYWISTOSC of 25 September 1983, in which I raised a number of important issues of the relations between the party and the state, on the one hand, and religion and the Church on the other. It is hard to understand what he approves and what he does not as regards the fundamental issues. When he appears to agree with something, he formulates his thought in the subjunctive mood: "it may be that Lebiezinski is right in this matter on its merit...." One could omit mentioning here the tone of amiable condescension and the note of irony and sarcasm that appear to be, as it were, attributively subordinated to J. Lipiec's eristics. Besides, I am going to pay him back in coin of similar value.

In my article I reacted critically to the following statement of J. Lipiec: /"Hence, political parties should not base themselves on the criteria of the metaphysical convictions of their members, and instead they should base themselves on the criteria of the social programs they advocate"/ ("Which Socialism?" TU I TERAZ, 16 February 1983). In his rebuttal he accused me of having torn the above sentence from its context and extrapolated its idea to a broader context in order to arrive at "a general criterion applying to all parties" in my conclusion. He persists in claiming in this connection that no party in Poland, and above all not the Marxist-Leninist party, should base itself on "the criteria of the metaphysical convictions of its members instead of on the criteria of its social program." At issue in the dispute is the word "metaphysics," which J. Lipiec opposes to "the social program." In his rebuttal he asserts, with the modesty characteristic of him, that it is not proper for him to explain the meaning of the term "metaphysics" to a fellow philosopher. He implies thereby, in my opinion, that he employs that term in the classical (rather than the Engelsian) sense. Had it been so indeed, there would be no point to the dispute. J. Lipiec formulates his thoughts, however, in an extremely unclear manner which, therefore, admits diverse interpretations. It appears, though, that he interprets "metaphysics" as a synonym for the term "philosophy". In his rebuttal he opposes "metaphysical" convictions to "the social program" of the Marxist-Leninist party. Consider, however, that parties of this type have never guided themselves by the

"metaphysical convictions" of their members; instead, they have always solely and exclusively guided themselves by the scientific world outlook (which includes the dialectical-materialist philosophy); it thus turn out that we are dealing with a rejection of the philosophical, world-outlook criterion.

In the article "Which Socialism" we also read: /"The Polish state is not theocratic and will not implement any elements of theocracy; it must instead be a civic, secular state in which the individual's world outlook (and chiefly metaphysical convictions) is safeguarded by mechanisms of tolerance."/ I share entirely this conviction of J. Lipiec. I have made this clear in my article. But it is the term "metaphysics" that is at issue. Since he writes of the world outlook in the secular state, which should "create the foundations of the scientific world outlook," and in addition he states that metaphysical convictions occupy the chief place in that outlook (this is how I read this obscure formulation), it is clear that in the case of the scientific world outlook the metaphysics meant is not of the classical kind but solely and exclusively a synonym for the term "philosophy." J. Lipiec writes in this connection about the socialist state. It would be a paradox indeed if a secular state based on the scientific world outlook were to intertwine it with metaphysics in the classical meaning of the word.

J. Lipiec again employs the term "metaphysics" in the sentence I quoted above, claiming that political parties should not base themselves on the criteria of the metaphysical convictions of their members. I am thus right in saying that in both cases the same connotation of the expression "metaphysical convictions" was used. It ensues hence that political parties should not base themselves on philosophical criteria. Moreover, J. Lipiec does not oppose philosophical criteria to metaphysical ones (were the latter employed in the classical sense); instead he opposes metaphysical convictions to social programs. The conclusion is evident: political parties, including Marxist-Leninist ones, should guide themselves exclusively by social programs. In his rebuttal J. Lipiec clearly intends to obscure the problem by the obscurity of his formulations. It turns out that such a defensive tactic also be used.

J. Lipiec's accusation that I isolated the sentence cited above from its context hardly valid. I agree entirely with the statement preceding it. It would be an inexcusable error to create not only substitutes [political organizations] for denominational struggle for power but also even its appearances. I also have written of this. But this has nothing in common with the dictum that political parties should not base themselves on the metaphysical convictions of their members. In this connection, J. Lipiec's disingenuous implication that I supposedly proposed that philosophical convictions should be the sole criterion for membership in the party are utter misunderstanding and nonsense. Once again, statements worded in the conditional sense prevent establishing the identity of the person against whom my esteemed adversary is waging his philippic. Of a certainty, that person is not I. If he doubts this, I suggest that he should re-read, this time more attentively, the text of "The Party and State and Religion and the Church."

In his rebuttal J. Lipiec takes a particularly critical position toward my formulation regarding the membership of believing working people in the party. He even believes that this is a "fundamental question." Of course, he has the

right to this opinion rather than to another. He has not, however, perceived any major problems. As known, the PZPR program adopted at the 9th Extraordinary Congress contains the following statement: /"The party also admits believing working people to its ranks. It enables them to pursue political activities in consonance with the principles of its program and supports as a whole the scientific world outlook and conducts in that spirit educational and upbringing activities"/ (NOWE DROGI, No 8, 1981, p 122). Commenting on this passage, I stated: /"Properly speaking, the statement is not too clear. As we understand it, working people include not only workers and peasants. The statement implies the possibility of admitting to the party any believer, including the intelligentsia, who accepts the party's statute and program."/ And further: /"The statement cited is moreover logically flawed: if the party as a whole supports the scientific world outlook, this must necessarily also apply to each and every one of its members. After all, 'each' is part of the 'whole.' In accordance with the large logic quantifier, exceptions are not possible. This would, in its turn, conflict with the statement that 'the party admits believing working people to its ranks.' We are thus dealing with an illogical statement that is perpetuated in a party document. It is no surprise that this statement is causing various controversies in the operating practice of individual party elements."/

Above I quoted in toto my comments on this issue, because this was not done by J. Lipski in his violent polemic. That makes all the more surprising his accusation that I commented on his assertion upon supposedly isolating it from its context. Consider now the series of accusations made against me by J. Lipiec: a) extreme reductionism; b) antidialectical simplification; c) divergence from reality as well as absurdity; d) haste in inferring judgments, which proved to be a self-defeating move; e) sociological nominalism ensuing from treatment of the party as a set to which a logic quantifier can be applied; f) a neo-positivist interpretation of social structures; g) vulgar sociology; h) mechanicism; i) options of theory proved to be an obstacle to an intentionally just practical desire; j) a coy eristic maneuver; k) attack of Gdansk origin on the party. As can be seen, this is a substantial number of grave accusations. Elaborating them would require writing a thick volume. One has to have strong nerves in order not to break down under the scourge of J. Lipiec's excoriations. But the problem is: how valid and justified are they? They would collapse like the proverbial house of cards as soon as we shed light on the error in the reasoning of our adversary. This refers to the explication of the concept of the "set" as applied to the party.

The term "set" is used colloquially and in science (in, among others, mathematical logic). In "Mala Encyklopedia Logiki" [The Little Encyclopedia of Logic] we read: /"The concept of the set, used colloquially, means either the totality of objects sharing a common attribute or an entity consisting of many objects regarded as parts of that entity. The colloquial interpretation of the 'set' provided the foundation for adopting this term in various scientific disciplines"/ (Wroclaw-Warsaw-Krakow, 1970, p 361). Consequently, the concept of the "set" is used by many scientific disciplines, that is, its applications are much broader than implied by J. Lipiec.

Here, two kinds of sets are of interest to us: a) in the distributive sense  $x$  is an element of sets of  $M$ 's, meaning that  $x$  is an  $M$  or one of the  $M$ 's; and b) in the collective sense (the set of  $M$ 's composes a single whole consisting of discrete  $M$ 's). In the distributive sense, we include, e.g., Warsaw, Gdansk and Wroclaw in the set of Polish cities, as elements of that set. On the other hand, we do not consider discrete streets, city quarters or squares (or their parts) of these cities as elements of that set. In the collective sense, by contrast, the concept of the "set" means objects consisting of parts, collectives or conglomerations of various kinds. Any part of the set in this case is regarded as its element, e.g. a leg of a table is regarded as a part of the table. A pile of stones is a collective set of these stones. The elements of that set are both discrete stones and various parts of these stones. When so construed, the set of these stones is identical with, e.g the set of all the atoms of which these stones consist.

We determine sets by the extensional procedure, e.g. by eumerating all their elements, or by the intensional procedure, that is, by identifying the characteristic attribute shared by all the elements belonging to a given set. Intensional, i.e., contentual definitions are more fundamental and basic. The word "set" is thus often used to denote a set of elements isolated in accordance with particular principles according to their particular attributes. As we understand it, therefore, object  $y$  is an element of the set of those  $x$ 's which have the attribute  $W$  when and only when object  $y$  has the attribute  $W$ . That is, a part of object  $y$  is an element of the set of objects having the attribute  $W$  when, and only when that part has the attribute  $W$ . Space does not permit more detailed reflections on the complex problem of sets. Besides, that would be a discourtesy to my learned colleague.

Let us therefore again consider the Marxist-Leninist party, this time as a distributive set of its members (elements). Contrary to the beliefs expressed by J. Lipiec in his rebuttal, not only the party but also other complex organisms, including social ones, are sometimes considered as sets. Accusing me of extreme reductionism, which always is undialectical, J. Lipiec resorts to the following example: /"Were we to accept a statement to the effect that a certain publicist is hot-tempered and naive (as a whole), then every one of the cells of which he consists would display the same attributes."/ I understand my adversary's witticism. But his jest is at his own expense. After all, the context of my statement does not warrant the conclusions inferred by J. Lipiec. He thus wages a skirmish against himself: first he invents arguments, then he energetically demolishes them.

The PZPR is a Leninist party of a new type. Three of its constitutional features are particularly essential (I omit here the others): Marxism-Leninism, the principle of democratic centralism; and membership in a particular local party organization. The Statute of the PZPR, adopted at the 9th Extraordinary Congress, declares: /"The PZPR, guiding itself by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, translates into reality its principles in accordance with the requirements of the particular political, social, economic and cultural conditions of Poland"(PZPR Statute, Ksiazka i Wiedza Press, 1983, p 4). And further: /"The paramount principle of the party's inner life is democratic



centralism. The inseparable observance of centralism and democracy in the party's operating practice is an indispensable prerequisite for the party's ideological cohesiveness and political unity of action"/ (Ibid., p 19). Let us dwell on the first two constituent attributes of the party.

Every member of the PZPR has joined it of his own free will and as such he is bound to accept these constituent attributes, which distinguish the party of the new type from other political parties. That is, the party as a distributive set is intensionally determined on the basis of specific constituent attributes. Its members (elements of the set) must accept these attributes. This is a prerequisite for being member of a communist party. Of course, the actual functioning of the party in the complex Polish reality requires introducing various corrections, as I have stated. But this does not affect the optics of the theory.

Thus, when a new member joins the PZPR of his own free will and acknowledges Marxism-Leninism as a whole, this also means acknowledging Marxist philosophical materialism as its inseparable component part. In the worst case, he should be aware that the party will require of him the scientific world outlook. This applies equally to democratic centralism. In this sense it can be said that if the party as a whole guides itself by the two above constituent properties, then each of its members must also guide himself by them. Otherwise, he would be violating the requirements of the party of the new type and loosening its ideological and organizational bonds.

I stress yet again: the party's constituent attributes are not attributes in the sense that time is an attribute of matter, for example. A person who joins the party must accept its constituent attributes or stay out of it. When thus seen, the attribute inherent in the party as a whole must also be subordinated to every one of its members. Again, this practice does not violate the relationship between the whole and its part, between the set and its elements, as considered in theory here. This is simply another method of generating a set: not from elements sharing the same attribute but by selecting elements ready to acquire that attribute for a set with particular attributes.

J. Lipiec surely would not want to acknowledge Marxism-Leninism, and particularly its philosophical part, as a constituent attribute of a party of a new type. Hence he becomes childishly entangled in his own net of theories. Consequently, he is inconsistent. He assumes, e.g. that democratic centralism, which is inherent in the party as a whole, also applies to every one of its members. He fails to perceive that analogous cases are meant here. Democratic centralism (that is, centralism and democracy taken together) is needed to safeguard the party's creative ideological unity (based on Marxism-Leninism) as well as its organizational and political unity. Yet in the first case J. Lipiec rolls out "weighty" arguments to counter my statements while in the second case he is in agreement with me. It turns out also that, in accord with my opponent, the large logic quantifier runs across the range of democratic centralism but does not apply to Marxism-Leninism as a constituent attribute of a party of the Leninist type. Altogether, it is difficult to understand what J. Lipiec means. It can be only stated that he entangles

himself in intrinsically incoherent conclusions and hastily formulated accusations.

Even so, special attention should be paid to yet another statement by J. Lipiec, which crowns this clutch of reflections: /"I do not regard as felicitous a coquettish eristic maneuver, which essentially means that, in order to derive several personal views, the author thought it necessary to distance himself from the logic of a party resolution--which is, nota bene, mandatory to all party members. Are not attacks on the party from outside (from Gdansk among others) enough?"/ (my emphasis--W. L.). Such polemical maneuvers are usually defined as demagoguery. J. Lipiec is no less aware than I that cannon shots aimed at the positions of one's own troops express the intention of the artillerist.

I proposed the formulation concerning believing working people as party members with a view toward the discussions concerning the long-range program of the PZPR being drafted for the 10th Congress. Were J. Lipiec's rigorous stand to be adopted, nothing could be said of the actual program. After all, the resolution is mandatory. How can a better and more precise program be conceived? Let us consider two provisions of the actual party statute: /"b) express one's views on all issues at the party meeting and in the party press, submit one's opinions and recommendations to all party authorities, inclusive of the congress; c) present one's views, defend them at the party forum and before higher-level committees; however, the presentation and defense of his views cannot release the party member of the duty of implementing resolutions democratically adopted by the majority"/ (Ibid., pp 11-12). Resolutions have to be implemented, but they can also be discussed, critically too. J. Lipiec would have been right only if he had proved that I am not implementing a party resolution. The Statute provisions are good. They avert, in theory at least, dogmatism and blind obedience. J. Lipiec surely would like to annul these provisions. I personally support them.

Until recently my adversary used to think in different terms. In his article "Intellectuals in the Party" he wrote on, among other things, the role of the party intellectual: /"Various solutions undergo the test of practice: personal or functional unity of authority and intellect, their elegant neutrality, dissonance verging at misunderstanding, or tragic antagonism. To the communist party only one solution exists: through unity. But this cannot be the unity of exchange of polite phrases; it rather should be the unity of exchange of rationales, of the clash and creation of higher and more precise truths and loftier and more lucidly defined ideals. So that joint decisions would be not only joint but the most cogent of decisions. So that historical time would demonstrate the greatness of the wisdom of the individuals at that period in a complete and integral manner"/ (ZDANIE, Vol 1, p 44, 1978). Thus, let the Jozef Lipiec of 1978 chide the Jozef Lipiec of 1983 for betraying his views.

He makes a trivial accusation concerning the thesis of admitting to the party as many believers as the party organization can succeed in educating, as well as concerning the thesis that in the complicated domestic situation the criterion of world outlook should be temporarily relegated to a secondary plane in favor of the struggle for a socialist shape of social

transformations. I would not be adhering to my opinion were J. Lipiec to make a more interesting and pragmatically more effective offer. But he has not done so in the least. I would like though to procure more precise information. I lack it, and I believe that it is not available. One of the responsibilities of party organizations is that they must make decisions on the basis of particular circumstances. This is how V. I. Lenin posed the matter. Comrade Czyrek declared at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: /"At present, shaping world-outlook attitudes in accordance with the party's ideological assumptions is becoming a basic purpose of indoctrination work. Let us not bar the road to the party--as we have specified in the resolution of the 9th Congress--to believers, especially workers and peasants, who desire to struggle for socialism and actively participate in the country's political life as PZPR members. But in accordance with that very same resolution, we should actively and consistently propagate the scientific world outlook within the party, deepen Marxist-Leninist knowledge and convictions and strive to make them dominant"/ (Ibid.). The task is obvious. Its implementation depends on the particular conditions under which discrete party elements operate, as well as on these elements themselves and on their membership and ideological training. Generalized prescriptions would be fallacious and even harmful. Hence, the epithets "idealism" and "abstractionism" employed by J. Lipiec are the proverbial products of a diseased imagination.

Let us now consider J. Lipiec's last argument. In my article "The Party and State and Religion and the Church" I wrote: /"The believing worker has to be educated. This is a task of the party organizations. This requirement should not be forgotten. Otherwise, it could happen that believers would constitute a majority within the party. Then the inculcation of world outlook would be impossible as well."/ And further: /"This raises the following question, to which we cannot find an answer in the reflections of a majority of Polish authors: what would happen to the Marxist party if, on admitting to its ranks believing workers and peasants, it were to fail in educating them in the spirit of its world outlook, or if a majority of its membership were by now to be believers? Would it remain a Marxist party or transform itself into a social-democratic or other party?"/ I also stated: "/In the presence of poor indoctrination work--and so far it has not been maximally effective--the Marxist party would then gradually lose its ideological nature."/ I thus formulated a grave problem which requires a valid answer that could, in this connection, be provided by many people. It is not precluded that a better solution could be found. To J. Lipiec, on the other hand, everything is crystal clear. He states with an admixture of irony: /"...Inasmuch as it would turn out that--contrary to Lebedzinski--the statistical 'majority' is not meeting some one of the cardinal ideological criteria for membership, therefore the party as a whole should humbly respond to this fact by transforming itself into a new quality. I am opposed to such a mechanistic methodological approach."/

J. Lipiec forgot that it is precisely through a statistical majority of votes that the party adopts its resolutions. Thus, everything hinges on the quality of that majority. Within more than one party organization a turn in the social-democratic direction took place owing to the attitude of that statistical majority. That is how, for example, the so-called horizontal

structures had arisen. Prior to the 9th Congress, in one locality in Gdansk Province, a person who was not just a believer but even a practicing believer was elected first secretary of the local party committee by the will of the statistical majority. He exercised the duties of first secretary till the end of 1982, also by the will of the statistical majority. Here it is apposite to consider a historical analogue. A dispute about point 1 of the party statute broke out at the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Russia (SDPRR) in 1903. V. I. Lenin demanded that personal participation in a party organization be made a party membership requirement. In effect, this concerned the organizational shape of the party. V. I. Lenin's formula was rejected by an insignificant majority of votes, that is, by that statistical majority on which J. Lipiec comments so frivolously. A great deal of effort was needed before Lenin's idea was finally adopted at the Third SDPRR Congress and thereby a party of the new type was built.

From the above reflections, and from others as well, we conclude that Marxist-Leninist knowledge has not as yet become daily bread to both publicistic writers for major periodicals and Marxists with academic titles. Intuition, shallowness, [oversimplification in name of] common sense still reign supreme, and so does, I would say, megalomania. At the same time, appeals for a creative application of Marxism-Leninism are becoming increasingly louder. Marxism-Leninism is not and cannot be a dogma. It must be developed and creatively applied. This is an indisputable truism. Provided, however, that before Marxism can be creatively applied one should first familiarize himself with at least the principles of the theory of that application.

1386

CSO: 2600/873

PZPR CONFERENCE DELEGATES DISCUSS POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 84 pp 1,2

[Three statements reported respectively by JK, WOL and GES: "Delegates Speak"]

[Text] Statement of Aleksander Michalik, fitter, Famid Sewing Machine Needle and Parts Factory in Lodz, Central Party Control Commission member:

At the midpoint of the conference period, I cannot say that we are halfway toward fulfilling the tasks specified by the Extraordinary Congress. International stipulations, various kinds of limitations in foreign trade, economic restrictions and attempts at political isolation stood in the way of the stabilization initiated by the imposition of extraordinary measures.

I am recalling these barriers to working our way out of the crisis, which are obvious to most of us, in order to state as clearly as possible that what we have attained is due to the great efforts of the workers. Economic reform and the reconstruction of the legal system, as well as a change in the way government organs function created a good atmosphere for this effort.

We did not, however, avoid many mistakes and regrettable conditions. The drastic decrease in the number of workers employed makes exploitation of technical potential and attaining the level of production of the late 1970's impossible at present. The somewhat timid approach to the reform itself and the instability of its basis does not lead to structural transformations in the economy; on the one hand it has not summoned all reserves and on the other -- my opinion -- there is still too much empty activity, fruitless reporting, and bureaucratic waste.

The conservative or contra-reform attitudes of people at the middle and central rungs of management who, without understanding the new methods, dream about returning to the distributive control method of management are of no help either. Certainly that style, definitely rejected by the working class, was ineffective and gave rise to the serious crisis we experienced.

If we are not to repeat the same mistakes, we will have to seriously pursue maximum exploitation of present potentials and create new ones. To the extent that people are the effective force, then we must "structure" everything that influences the intensity and quality of their work in such a way that they

will give as much as possible of themselves. But this is not so.

The new regulation in matters of principles of remuneration, being a step forward, cannot satisfy. Actually it sanctions what was developed by certain plants and what was tested in so-called wage experiments. We are waiting for a comprehensive system of remuneration that will, without limiting administrative independence of enterprises, introduce order and logic, result in evaluation of plants and work done and create a clear hierarchy. The new work law, brimming with contemporaneity and new economic principles, must be a part of this system.

Statement of Edward Dobworolski, farmer from Dziekanowo, Hrubieszow Gmina, Zamosc Province, Central Committee member:

It is not without reason that much space was given to the problems of agriculture and food management in the documents of the Ninth Congress. Earlier activities on behalf of agricultural development were not effective and the resolutions of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1974 were not realized. There was a decrease in the share of agriculture in national investment expenditures, the supply of machinery, equipment and replacement parts, fertilizer and construction materials diminished and cost-effectiveness of farm production decreased. Therefore, confirming the statement of the Congress that the village and agriculture itself will not resolve their problems, which have been accumulating for years, became a historic necessity.

The party, on the basis of principles of worker-peasant solidarity and food requirements of the people, spoke for a major reorientation of socio-economic policies that would result in a more rapid development of agriculture and the whole food economy. Only through ill will can anyone deny that these strategically significant tasks have been realized. I can see this every day in my own gmina.

Legal guarantees pertaining to durability of private family farms resulted in an increase in interest in farming among young people. An increasing number of young people are remaining in the villages and taking over their parents' farms. Running a farm has begun to pay off, which does not mean that there are no malcontents who constantly complain that animal breeding does not pay, that growing grain does not pay, or milk production does not pay, etc.

From my own example, I farm 11 hectares, specialize in growing sugar beets, milk production and fattening animals, and I know that things are different. Obviously, just as in every job, honest and conscientious work is necessary since it is singularly difficult to cheat the land.

In the course of the short time since the congress, it would be difficult to correct everything in agriculture. Further serious defects continue and only through the cooperative effort of all the people will they be eliminated. I have the impression that the industrial plants are increasing production for agriculture somewhat too slowly. There are constant shortages still of small tools, replacement parts, boots and workers' clothing; the villages are sup-

plied with shoddy merchandise and the activities of many institutions that service agriculture, from purchasing centers to agencies, require improvement.

There is a lack of small plants that would process crops and agricultural products locally; for example, this is the reason that in our area where milk production is high, part of it is converted to casein instead of to high-priced products. Inadequate sugar-producing facilities result in long cycles at the plants that make it necessary to freight the raw material to other areas with great losses. All the people pay for this.

Providing villages with water continues to be a real and urgent need.

Statement of Stanislaw Kolodziej, farmer from Szczytniki, Krakow Province:

Here in the village we know the value of time and integrity. For this reason in preparing for the conference, we -- party farmers of the province -- resolved to make the conclusions from our evaluations and experience as concrete as possible. We had several meetings with the best managers, then with village organizations, and finally with the circle of housewives, for in the village this is a great force in the organization of life and production.

Most important to all of us is stabilization at the market. The future of agriculture depends on this. We must be assured as soon as possible that the money we get for goods sold will not rapidly lose its value. It is said that production frequently is not cost-effective. This is not entirely true. It depends on beginning earnestly to manage skillfully. There is no lack of this skill in the villages. But whose idea was it, for instance, to eliminate small dairies? Formerly milk that was diverted was returned to the villages and was a valuable component of fodder. Now it is usually wasted. A real misunderstanding is the irresponsible decentralization of agricultural services at the gmina level; who else is concerned about production? Who else is concerned about supplies, water, etc. As far as stabilizing any policy goes, everyone scrapes his own turnip and there is no one to direct matters in a comprehensive way. The conclusion: agricultural services in the villages should have one person making decisions as a whole.

Of basic concern is water. It is no longer a bounty of nature, but the main component of agricultural production. Everyone agrees that it is the country's most difficult problem. In our opinion, mistakes are being made in investment policy. The best interest rate in repayment of credit is constantly sought. This is not the most important thing. Let this interest rate be the same as for other investments, but for purposes of land improvement, let loans be for terms of many years. Then water conduits will be built through community action. And the loan will be repaid if not with money, then with eggs, poultry, grain. It will be repaid a hundredfold. There is no other solution.

2950

CSO: 2600/863

RESULTS OF NOWY SACZ PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Proceedings, Executive Board, Secretariat

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 9 Jan 84 p 1

[Article: "With the Participation of Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee Secretary, the Fifth PZPR Provincial Reports-Elections Conference Deliberated in Nowy Sacz; The Party's Task Is To Care About the Working Class' Living and Working Conditions, Its Prestige and Position; Jozef Brozek Is PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary"]

[Text] Nowy Sacz, 7 January 1984, the WCKS Dunajec Hall, 9 am.

The Color Guard enters the beautifully decorated hall headed by Tadeusz Swidrak, Nowy Sacz's distinguished party activist. The Fifth Provincial Reports-Elections Conference in Nowy Sacz begins with the singing of the Internationale. Two hundred and forty-nine delegates are present. Jozef Brozek, KW [Provincial Committee] first secretary, greets the mandatees of the region's party organizations. In their and his own name he expresses gratification for the presence of the distinguished guests at the deliberations. Among others, the guests include Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Jan Gawel, member of the PZPR CKR [Central Audit Commission] presidium; Stanislaw Grabana, member of the PZPR CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] presidium; and Jozef Oleks, director of the CKR Office. The following representatives of directorates of Nowy Sacz political parties are thanked for attending the party conference: the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee] with Chairman Stanislaw Smierciak; the SD WK With Secretary Fryderyk Jaskiewicz; WRN [Provincial People's Council] Chairman Tadeusz Zapiorkowski; and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] RW [Provincial Council] Chairman Jan Turko. Thanks are also expressed to the veterans of the worker movement and the representatives of social and youth organizations for accepting the invitations.

The conference appoints a presidium. Lechoslaw Miksztal, Stanislaw Kamieniarzow and Jozef Nieglos are selected to chair the deliberations. The Mandate, Elections and Resolutions Commissions are selected.

In the name of Nowy Sacz's ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] ZM [Municipal Board], its chairman, Marek Rafalowicz, wishes the conference sincerest wishes for fruitful deliberations.



Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the departing PZPR KW in Nowy Sacz, presents a report to the conference on the activities of the echelons. (A summary of the speech is located on page 3). Written reports on the activities of the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission] and WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] are handed to the delegates. The reports are published on page 2.

The Mandate Commission ascertains that 249 of the 257 delegates selected by Nowy Sacz's city, city-gmina, gmina and plant party organizations are attending the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference. Thus they have a right to select leaders and formulate a program.

With the authorization of the Elections Commission, its chairman, Jan Turek, recommends Jozef Brozek for the position of first secretary of the PZPR KW in Nowy Sacz.

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, in the name of the Central Committee Politburo also recommends that J. Brozek be entrusted with the function of PZPR KW first secretary. Both recommendations, which are clearly and convincingly justified, are accepted by the conference with approval. The present KW first secretary does not have an opponent in the elections for this position. In a secret vote, 237 of the 247 delegates in attendance reelect Jozef Brozek as the PZPR KW first secretary for Nowy Sacz.

The PZPR KW Executive Board in Nowy Sacz:

Adam Bebenek, Jozef Brozek, Tadeusz Brys, Edmund Dabski, Jerzy Grodecki, Grzegorz Jawo, Ludwik Kaminski, Wladyslaw Kedzior, Zbigniew Kulig, Wladyslaw Michalus, Jozef Nieglos, Jozef Nowak, Tadeusz Rabianski, Antoni Raczka, Stanislaw Siemaszko, Jerzy Skrzypski and Janusz Tomalski.

The PZPR KW Secretariat in Nowy Sacz:

Jozef Brozek, first secretary; secretaries Grzegorz Jawor, Ludwik Kaminski, Tadeusz Rabianski and Janusz Tomalski.

#### First Secretary's Speech

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 9 Jan 84 pp 3, 4, 6

[Article: "We Are for Creative Anxiety Which Requires That Good Replace Bad; The Nowy Sacz PZPR Executive Board Report Delivered by Jozef Brozek, KW First Secretary"]

[Text] Comrade Delegates and Esteemed Guests!

Today it is our duty to report on the status of the party's obligations from June 1981 to June 1984.

We presented in writing detailed reports on that tumultuous period, a period that was also unsettling during our term. These reports should be read together with the information from Nowy Sacz's governor because that is the only way one can see the correlation between the political work and the region's economic results. The discretion of the province's residents induced the majority of the region's citizens to perform their duties even when the country was inundated by a wave of strikes that were called under any pretext, when the economy was being ruined cold-bloodedly, and when farmers were called upon to boycott the state centers for purchasing farm products, to cease paying taxes and to starve the cities. Thanks to this, our industries, cooperatives, handicrafts and agriculture were not disorganized. We did not have to expend as much energy in the struggle against anarchy.

While the opponent called for hunger marches, paralyzed mine and port operations, raved about gallows for the "Reds" and about "struggling against them to the last," we actually placed into operation here during those 2 dramatic years 6 nursery schools, 4 schools, 5 health centers, 3 dispensaries, 2 hospital pavillions, 4 teachers' homes, 8 OSP [Volunteer Fire Brigade] depots and 6,500 residences. I am recalling only some of the facts which you, Comrades, have at hand. Then bridges were built, roads were modernized and many hectares of peasant lands were drained--that was one area in which the struggle took place. The second area is our struggle for peace and discipline, and patiently explaining our reasons.

Each of you present here, before you obtained the mandate from your fellow comrades to be a delegate, participated actively in the events that we are now judging. Thus it is not necessary to go into details of the recent past since its specifics are still fresh in our memory.

There is one more reason why we are reluctant to dwell unduly on the past days: namely, life goes on, and in wanting to keep abreast, we should look ahead because that which is most important and even most difficult still lies ahead of us. Reflecting on the common road traveled, on that which has failed and that which was successful makes sense only if it serves to develop our program of action for today and for tomorrow.

We went through an inferno of imputations and slanders; nonetheless we persevered and reached some conclusions from the bitter experiences. We did not waste our time; there is no need to anoint our heads with ashes. We examined the errors of the past with exceptional severity, openly and unequivocally, like no one else before us. We have not forgotten those errors. We are taking them with us, not as ballast hampering the march but as an admonition against new lapses.

It is really from this viewpoint that today we want to evaluate the presence of Nowy Sacz's provincial party organization in last term's main political battles.

On the minus side, we have registered a significant numerical decline in our rank and file among workers. This process, which was halted only during the second half of the term, has been analyzed by us many times. This was not a homogeneous process; it came about for many reasons, not only because of the opponent's psychological pressures or because of the hoax that was calculated for immediate effect. People with longer service times also left who became confused in the ideological and political storms.

The closing of the ranks by those who persevered, who came to know the meaning of a comrade's shoulders in addition to their own, often compensated for the numerical losses. During those difficult and bitter times, we experienced more than one instance of satisfaction that as the enemy's pressure increased, the determination of people who till now were not known for their courage and activity strengthened. Many of them assumed party functions for the first time in their lives. They became a great unknown quantity. Today they no longer are an unknown quantity. In the primary organizations, [POP] 774 of them have been elected as first secretaries. Although a significant number of this conference's participants were delegates in 1981, an almost equal number of delegates is coming to this hall for the first time. Thus we have here a new wave of activists and a continuation of the old in an indispensable proportion.

For many reasons, workers, farmers and people from the front line of production labor are not sufficiently represented here. The fact that an overwhelming majority of us who passed through the democratic electoral sieve actually come from the peasant or worker communities is not comforting or exculpatory. It is true that the people who elected us are authentic working people, but it also is true that the numerically unsatisfactory presence of workers is a shortcoming that must be corrected promptly by aggressively winning over the community that is deciding the country's development, and by recruiting its most worthy representatives into the party.

Since we are already discussing the weaknesses that require correction, then it would not be amiss to mention those opinions voiced during the reports-elections campaign that complained about the deficiencies in youth work (considered extensively, after all, at the KW plenary session but still without a final result). Some other shortcomings are: the deficiencies in our political training, which we must set free from the corset of formalism and imbue with lively content; the insufficient participation of party comrades in the new trade union movement; and the insufficiently generalized distribution of specific party tasks.

Another weakness is that a part of our primary organizations function only during meetings, and thus only a few hours per month. But those activities that go on between meetings, such as initiatives undertaken in the interest of the community; minor matters that must be

carried out to the end, everyday sensitivity to wrongs, mismanagement and bureaucracy; active participation in implementing the economic reform, active participation in PRON, which in this province is defining its program more and more clearly and is needed by people active in social work; and the ingeniousness of our comrades in organizations, associations and various forms of self-government are all areas in which our party consciousness can be affirmed or turn out to be disappointing.

We are looking soberly at the political situation in the region, and we are evaluating realistically the state of social consciousness. The thinking of individuals and some communities is devastating and to date has not been overcome. There are primary organizations that still are not making use of their statutory rights and obligations. There are echelons and institutions that are too passive, that are at the tail end of the changes. We will take action to retire those who stray, to expand the circle of those people who provide daily leadership in their communities and set a personal--and thus the most valuable--example of what the party is and could be.

Here it is necessary to conduct self-criticism on the need to improve the method of party work. The need for fewer words and more deeds applies to all of us without exception. Current tasks must be defined clearly and their execution constantly monitored. We need preparatory training that will transform a party member into a knowledgeable activist. We need each POP to work with the most active non-party people in their communities, those who do not regret time spent on discussions that clarify our policies and present our arguments. This is the way to expand party membership. We must develop new forms for influencing peoples' councils by increasing cooperation between the problem commissions of the party echelons and the commissions of peoples' councils such that all materials are analyzed thoroughly and enriched with the opinions of our comrades before they are discussed at people's council sessions. Practical work with youth must be intensified. Ways must be found to realize that which we are discussing and to move from words to deeds, at least in the area of cadre policy.

These are random themes requiring the realistic and creative application of that which we call the method of party operation.

Comrades!

Despite the many shortcomings known to all of us, the neglect of many years, and the weaknesses in party work, it turned out that we are not alone in the hour of trial. Despite vociferous prognoses, on 13 December 1981 party activists, the cadres of the Polish People's Army, the Citizens' Militia, the Security Service, the echelon apparatus, the comrades from key workplaces and opinionmakers in the communities stood up for socialism. The historical decision of the country's central authorities to create the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] was greeted in our

region by sufficiently strong support of thousands of citizens. Normal production rhythm, social discipline and order returned promptly when the anarchy was suppressed decisively and competently. This did not happen on its own. This decision was backed by a mass of patriots who were worn out by uncertainty about tomorrow, who were still divided in their sympathies and antipathies but who instinctively felt that we were the only ones proposing a realistic, constructive solution to the crisis.

Without megalomania we have the right to say that as a party we have not disappointed the hopes of the majority of our fellow citizens. We swallowed the introduction of martial law to take the initiative and to introduce the necessary health-giving cure to the party. The process of consolidating around the Central Committee occurred more quickly, but the process of beefing up our members is still continuing and requires more time. The statement that the party is the same though not exactly the same is not a propagandistic ornament. Many of its cells have regained their prestige in their communities.

Our comrades are constructively active in cadre policy, in tackling the most urgent issues, in realizing savings programs, in creating a pay motivation system, in initiating anti-import production, in strengthening agriculture, and in many other fields of social activity. Solid, unselfish patriots who are thinking about the future are rallying around and not abandoning those who stood up in defense of socialism on 13 December. Time is on our side. It should be stated clearly, however, that winning several important battles does not end the war with the opponent, who will counterattack if we only give him the opportunity to once again clothe himself as the defender of the people, democracy and justice.

The primary lesson that we must assimilate forever from the pre-August experiences is that the place where the party's ideological purity and principles weaken, where there is a discrepancy between the program and practice, and where distortions of socialism are not corrected in time is the only place where enemies of the socialist system can raise their heads and push their way between us and the people. It will be easier for them if, in addition to the errors of political and ideological deviations, the social security of the working class is threatened. Then the opponent does not have to present to us any constructive program vision; and agglomeration of a few slogans, even taken from our ideology, embellished with nationalistic sentiments and stated in aggressive tones will be sufficient.

The idea of building a "second Japan" in a continuously striking Poland, a Poland at odds with its neighbors and writing letters begging for gifts from the West was not, of course, a competitive program. Such a program would not deceive the people. But, in conjunction with laying bare our weaknesses, lapses and errors, in conjunction with the anarchysindicalistic concept of self-government presented, however, in a setting of socialist

terminology, and in conjunction with God-and-country gestures and symbols, this entire so-called program was supported by a not insignificant part of society, support that intensified as we became more indolent in eliminating threats that were known to the party as long ago as the Eighth Congress.

That lesson, which we experienced during the 1980-1981 period, concerns not only the past. It is not enough to swear by the policies of the Ninth Congress and to declare that there will be no return to the pre-August distortions. That bitter lesson commands us with Leninist passion--from top to bottom, from the Central Committee to the party's primary organizations--to guard the mechanisms of collective life against the blight of callousness and arrogance, and treating working people in a bureaucratic fashion.

Self-appeasement and self-satisfaction would be a fatal mistake. The opponent is in disarray as a result of the actions taken 13 December 1981, but he has not capitulated. Our task is to deprive him of any opportunity to influence the people. This can be done by a party that is constantly sensitive to all deviations from socialist ideology, eliminating abuse, and winning the minds and hearts of working people not so much with great words but with deeds based on the needs and aspirations of the people. It can be done by a party that transforms reality via the entire intensive front of thousands of its primary cells. The proposal that we are placing into the program of action for tomorrow and forever is to improve the presence of the POP's and echelons in transforming the realities of the workplace, localities and communities in such a way that more and more of our fellow citizens can think (and in time say loudly): this is our party, it represents our interests and is fighting in our name.

Esteemed Attendees!

Last term we came up against a problem many times that will also be with us in the future: how to harmonize the tempo of changes (including personnel changes) to assure the continuity that is needed for rational action. As a guide we are using Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's formula: as much stability as possible and as much change as is necessary. Thus, there should not be stagnation and everything should not be turned upside down.

We are following this formula in the cadre policy, which cannot be feverish, contaminated by haste and superficiality, but which also cannot be separated from the results achieved by a specific person.

Those who prove true should be assured of certainty of prospects, a sense of independence. But those who prove disappointing, who do not guarantee development, do not contribute valuable impulses in the functioning of subordinate collectives, we are mobilizing into activity, pointing out their deficiencies, and if this fails then we will fire them

from their position. A healthy compromise between continuity and change, maintaining a balance between continuity and the flow of fresh blood, is the golden mean which we adhere to day to day. This also is expressed in the composition of delegates to this conference, which I mentioned at the beginning. This composition indicates that extremes are disappearing from our intraparty life.

Today neither a tub-thumper seeking cheap applause nor an easy-going conformist who is capable only of assent is selected for positions of trust.

In this context, it is worthwhile to examine our relation to criticism and self-criticism.

The significant decrease--quantitative as well as qualitative--in the number of criticisms directed at the top, which was emphasized earlier, is a positive phenomenon. We are devoting more thought now on how to limit and eliminate evil through our own efforts and how we can overcome local difficulties in our own area. This is a healthy trend of quests. But it should not lead to a decline of criticism. Nowhere and at no time is it so good that it could not be better. Criticism, including criticism by the press and on radio and TV, however, should not be one-sided and unidirectional. It should not draw a black picture of reality. Exaggeration does not serve progress. Glaring coloration can be disabling, can take away faith, can be discouraging. In turn, keeping silent about the bad sides of reality, hiding negative phenomena or repressing critical opinions can engender discrepancies between what the citizen thinks and what is announced officially.

Thus we support unequivocally the creation in all party cells and echelons of a climate conducive to continuous criticism and self-criticism of our practices. No one can be persecuted because of this. We should cultivate responsibility for words that are written and publicly spoken, investigating criticism and show what has changed for the better because of it, to correct that which was confirmed. But in no case will courageous people who reveal lapses, poor output or ill will be discouraged, intimidated or silenced.

We are observing a certain amount of oversensitivity in some communities, especially among some management staffs, regarding shortcomings. Of course, no one likes to be pilloried. But we also are not going to make anyone untouchable, especially individuals performing responsible functions. Every citizen has the right to criticize, and for party members it is an obligation wherever there is a grievance, waste, insensitivity or arrogance.

Comrades!

We want to make the call for good work organization in all areas, which requires a broad, undeclared but practical undertaking, the working slogan of the new term.

Here are several possibilities for realizing this goal. We have a shortage of about 3,000 workers in our region. This shortage of workhands would be eliminated if we could reduce sickleaves by 2 percent or reduce absences by office workers by 6 percent. There are other ways to eliminate this employment gap: it would be sufficient if production could be mechanized via technical improvements by an additional 2 percent or by improving transportation (which would also reduce pressure for housing because if it were easier to get to work, some people would continue to live in the rural areas).

Here is another example from the agricultural-food complex: we are now completing many investments (at the Nowy Sacz Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plants, at the Vegetable and Orchard Cooperative, at the Nowy Targ Leather Industries Plants). If full use is made of these new buildings, if, for example, the true capacities of Meblomet are utilized better, and the real production capacities of bakeries, butcher shops and WZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] slaughter houses are better utilized by remodeling and expansion, then the potential for dairy production will increase, and we will be able to increase significantly the region's market production. The rate of this increase can be 8-10 percent annually.

Here is still another example: the small executory potential is a substantial barrier for expanding construction. But even within the framework of our existing working capacity, we can increase its effectiveness by stabilizing and shortening the investment process. Thus we should ask: How long does it take to construct an apartment house, and what can be done to shorten this construction? The criterion for effectiveness should supersede quantitative criteria in other areas as well.

We also observe that there is an opportunity to implement regulations for good work organization in trade and in the service industries, in small-scale manufacturing and in all other areas where we squander raw materials, energy, work time or where we use the inventiveness of technical cadres and economists improperly.

The slogan "good work organization" has other than an economic aspect. The question of obtaining the understanding and then the support of citizens for our programs is being played in many areas simultaneously.

The struggle for hearts and minds is taking place in the economic area, in upbringing, the functioning of administration departments, cadre policy, the renewal of the trade unions, and the fulfilling of the essence of various forms of socialist democracy--from rural and residential self-government, through worker self-government and the movement for national rebirth, to the peoples' councils and the Sejm.

None of these areas is unimportant. None of them can be isolated, treated separately from the others. Strict correlation between that which is happening in ideology and in the economy, between the harmonization of that which we wrote into our programs and that which



we do day to day, is a party directive that must be executed in the prescribed time. In one way of thinking about it in summary, it can be perceived as follows: the 13th and 14th Central Committee plenums must be considered together with equal care and attention. The contest concerning tomorrow is being played out on many chessboards simultaneously--in the marketplace and at the building site, in propaganda and in agriculture, in the area of thriftiness and inventiveness, in improving the structure of management and the methods of combating social pathology, in better organization of production work and better explanations of our political rationales.

Our comrades are standing by each of these chessboards. Their individual efforts are summed up in the final balance sheet. The concern here is that we should be constantly aware, that every point counts simultaneously in this gigantic game.

For example, those who implement the economic reform more cleverly earn points for us, for Poland reborn and liberated from the crisis, for the socialist vision designated by the Ninth Congress and enriched by subsequent individual proposals. We are their inspiration. Some plant collectives have achieved notable results in this area, such as properly identifying their own true costs, indicating reserves in the area of working capacities, constructive approaches to savings programs that deter the inflation process, modernizing the wage system in such a way that it is a stimulant conducive to better work, seeking ways to become independent of imports, increasing the production of market articles, conserving fuel and energy--today these are not isolated activities. The collectives are taking up the ideas of reform that were assumed first by the enterprises. But we would have been much farther ahead if this movement for economic change was universal and more extensive. Unfortunately, in addition to the positive examples that we have already discussed many times, there also are examples in the area of waste of material and worktime. Cases of price manipulations also occur.

The reform is not for the passive, and it quickly exposes him who truly knows how to use it and him who is detached. It is our responsibility to overcome the barriers and impediments, to lead the way in uncovering reserves, in eliminating nonsense, in fully utilizing production potential.

In addition, the reform is supposed to increase the participation of working people in managing the economy so that every worker becomes aware of the economic mechanisms, the situation of his enterprise and a sense of the decisions made here. Without such knowledge, he cannot be a knowledgeable co-manager of the plant. Thus, we also bear responsibility for promulgating economic knowledge. Success in economic actions is a prerequisite to activity in the sphere of consciousness, which in turn will accelerate changes in the ways citizens think and in their attitudes. This is a classical example of the correlation of ideology, economics, well-being and consciousness.

Of course, it is regrettable that time is wasted on sham education, isolated from the realities of history and the present. But that is why today we are presenting high standards of requirements regarding the cadres of our ideological front. The concern here is that the party's word be competent, understood and fervent. This jubilee year of People's Poland will be a good time to gather arguments favoring the legitimacy of this historical process, which in a period of 40 years changed Podhale, Sadeczyzna, Limanowa and Gorlice so that they are no longer what they were. We are not striving for cheers for the system; instead we are striving to present properly that road that will lead our area away from thatched roofs, liberate us from want and illiteracy, a road that offered access for the entire post-war generation to schooling and health services, and guaranteed jobs. We also will speak honestly about those problems that we still face, but with the awareness that all our current difficulties and shortcomings now concern an entirely different level of aspirations, desires and needs. Today, of course, the concern is not that a poor person does not get medical aid, but rather that under conditions of universal access to health services, our health service should have such equipment and so function that this service should not become a burden to a sick person. This also applies to education and all areas of collective life. During that 40-year period we built as many schools as possible as well as roads, bridges, housing units, clinics and health centers, infant day nurseries, kindergartens, and transportation lines. The talk of the opposition that People's Poland has brought stagnation and that we have done nothing good is lies that will be believed only by people who are very ill-disposed towards us.

Those who not long ago noisily announced that the hospitals in Nowy Targ and Nowy Sacz cannot satisfy needs have not discovered anything new. Their dishonesty also is based on this: they were silent about the newly built hospitals in Limonowa and Gorlice, they were silent about the several dozen or so new health centers placed into public service in Podhale and Sadeczyzna. They pretended to know nothing about the start of construction of the big Nowy Targ hospital, and instead of giving moral support to this investment they organized pressure to initiate other buildings that would consume steel and cement, the energy of people and our modest financial resources.

When obstinancy passes, the people will determine who here is truly concerned about its needs and interests, who vents his megalomania and disregards reality, who is building that which is essential and who is a prisoner of his own pride!

Several old illusions were also put to the public: anti-Sovietism, pro-Westernism, a Pilsudski orientation and even a conspiracy against our own Polish state. Much political carelessness is needed to expand among Polish youth sentiment toward the West, which betrayed us in August and left Poland by itself. One must hold the facts in contempt to hold up to the democratized public as a model a marshal known for

his scornful relation to elected organs of government, a cocreator of the policy that sought friends from afar and created enemies of our neighbors, marching at one time to Kiev and later--already without the marshal, but also without sense, to Zaolzie.

In the jubilee year of People's Poland we want to and must perform much educational work, removing the lies from history, pointing out the essence of the political recovery inspired by the party that was executed by the National People's Council and the Polish Committee of National Liberation Manifesto. We also must reemphasize to our compatriots where Polish interests lie today and where the true threat lies: Whose rockets are aimed at Polish cities? Who supports revising our borders? With whom are we united by common blood and common goals?

Without insinuations, we must open eyes, especially of youth, to the hypocrisy of those forces of big capital and militarism who spare no resources to destabilize Poland and are prepared to play out their interest at our expense.

Esteemed Attendees!

We propose that our conference send a resolution to the district of Ul'yanovo as well as to our friends in Banska Bystrica and Smolyan, who are bound in friendship with Nowy Sacz Province, stating that in view of the growing arms race and the confrontational policies of the American administration, we support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and express solidarity with the will of millions of working people all over the world who say "no" to the nuclear plan of the crazies and the adventurers. Our historical experiences and our sincere wishes to eliminate war command us today to strengthen more strongly the links of friendship with the socialist commonwealth.

Let us call it by name: he who weakens these links, who courts governments harassing us with economic sanctions, who pretends he is not aware of the propagandic aggression against our country, and especially he who lends a hand to provocations in our ancestral home acts against Polish interests and is not a patriot. There will be no compromise on this issue because Polish security is not to be trifled with!

Comrades!

The clouds that have enveloped the international scene must not dim a sober look at the country's situation and the obligations that our party took upon itself. It is our duty not to overlook or underestimate the threats, not to allow ourselves to be intimidated and to ignore nothing that is important. We already have discussed some problems that are important in all corners of Poland. What remains is to be concerned about that which, under our conditions, is distinct, specific or else very urgent so that it cannot be postponed.

Health-resort medical care, the organization of rest and tourism are opportunities open to the regions and are its primary service function vis-a-vis the country.

Last term we developed a report on the threats to the natural environment. Without depicting a vision of catastrophe and without a litany of pious requests directed to the central authorities, we took a realistic inventory of the true status of our water, air, forests and soil. We stated what could be done through our own efforts to stop the process of degrading nature. In this regard, the documents of the KW's plenary session can serve as a model of how we should depend on our own efforts, how to set into motion procedural initiatives, and how one can start to put one's own backyard in order.

It is true that not much time has elapsed since that session, but it is difficult to deny that the apt decisions were applied to an insignificant degree in the gminas and at the workplaces. But their sense was based on the fact that we had to create plans to combat on our own the threat to the rivers, the atmosphere and nature. Based on this example, it can be seen that we did not master adequately the art of implementing our resolutions and decisions. The same applies to the resolutions concerning youth work, improving housing construction and several other areas. There are areas in which we have taken the lead, thanks to the support of the echelons and primary cells. But there also are areas in which this support was inadequate, resembling short-lived zeal.

We are proposing that at the start of the new term the individual KW departments and commissions review in depth all of the resolutions that were passed during the 1981-1983 period and, depending on the degree to which they were realized, true and objective information should be presented at one of the first meetings of the KW, which we are selecting today, on what was neglected or done only partially.

We know better than ever before how to consider an issue, how to use resolutions, how to develop and use operating schedules to implement these resolutions, but it is still a long way from perfection. We will record the above-mentioned theme concerning the protection of the natural environment in the register of issues that are still of interest and that require continuation, all the more since we now know what to do and how to do it.

Among the specific questions that are still of concern--and this also is your opinion, comrade delegates, which you expressed during the consultations preceding today's conference--several are worthy of mention and should be listed in the program of action.

1. We are striving to replenish the province's budget by income obtained from users of our region's resources. Zakopane, Rabka, Krynica and Szczawnica serve all of Poland. Thus, we have a right to seek forms of

financial aid in the development of infrastructures from those partners who have plants and branch rest centers or medical centers located in our province. The forms of this taxation must be defined precisely with a significant portion of the obtained funds designated for protecting the natural environment.

2. The goal to integrate medical and open health resorts is still current. Results to date are not satisfactory, but the idea to make the not insignificant potential of the specialized institutions and consulting clinics more accessible to the region's residents is just.

3. We want to create legal-financial conditions to expand the possibilities of using private quarters for the professional cadres of the health resorts who are needed in the province, including cadres in the local health resorts.

4. We consider last year's boom in plant residential construction and the formation of numerous small cooperatives as positive events. The possibilities for enterprises, institutions and factories in this regard are much greater, and we will support their initiatives to shorten the wait for housing.

5. We consider concern about the social conditions of work crews, about work safety and hygiene and about responding more quickly to matters vexing workers as an obligation of our comrades in management positions in the economic administration, in the specialized services in the enterprises as well as in all PZPR cells and echelons. The reborn trade union movement will play a big role in this area. In the current term, we are assigning party members and management cadres the task of enrolling at least 50 percent of every work crew in the trade union.

We already have made some progress in each of these five specific areas, but we must continue to expand this progress.

Also, much has been said thus far in central and provincial forums concerning the participation of youth in vitalizing the process for socialist transformations. In social practice, this undoubted capital of natural receptiveness, energy and resourcefulness is not being used to a satisfactory degree. The fruitfulness of our collaboration will be verified soon by the people's councils elections. During the course of nominating candidates and formulating local programs, and during the very election process itself, we will have to demonstrate the power of our influence on specific communities. We can achieve results that will upset the calculations of the opponents of socialist Poland only if we are united. A difficult election campaign awaits us, against which the underground, supported by enemy broadcasts, is already agitating today.

We believe that the provincial PZPR organization will leave this conference strengthened and well prepared for the upcoming political battles. We believe that joining us will be thousands of ZSL and SD activists, PRON

social activists, and the residents of the region who during the most critical months of the 1981 political struggle maintained their calm and did not multiply the number of their and Poland's troubles.

For this restraint and common sense, we owe sincere respect and acknowledgment to our tens of thousands of non-party acquaintances and friends--workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Those months of relative peace in the region and the observance of law and social discipline oblige us to double our efforts to cleanse public life of that evil that cannot and will not be tolerated in public or in party life. We must not forget the lessons of August. Thus, we are against passivity, avoidance of inconvenience, and all manifestations of conformism. We are for creative anxiety which tells us to verify and transform reality so that the bad will be replaced by the good and thus realize our programs successfully.

#### Michalek's Speech

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 9 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "We Must Rely on Intelligent and Courageous People; We Must Promulgate the Cult of Good Work and Good Organization; A Speech by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] The past 2 years were the most difficult period in the history of the party. It was a period of trial for the term we are now recapitulating. It is said that the party emerged from the trial the same but not quite the same. Despite appearances, this is not a contradiction. The errors of the past period were analyzed at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It was a self-evaluation that was exceptionally severe and extensive. Not much was said about successes, even though the party has achieved more than a few. The discussions concerned primarily errors, and probably no one discussed these errors as extensively and in depth as we did.

The party emerged from the sharp political confrontation numerically weaker. One-third of its members quit. Who left its ranks? Opponents, weak and indifferent people left. The departure from the party of many workers and peasants is a far greater loss. The party, however, has not ceased to be a worker party because it represents the ideology and interests of the working class.

At times it is said that party members should have greater privileges, but participation in the party, of course, is not based on privileges. We can only gain satisfaction from the fact that high requirements are actually expected of us.

Zbigniew Michalek mentioned several reflections concerning the role of August. The political effects of that August were significant. The just protests of the working class exposed the weaknesses and distortions in

governing, a government isolated from public opinion, and errors in economic policy. But its consequences, which were manifested in the disorganizations of life in the country, generated very unfavorable economic consequences.

The Ninth Congress defined a party program, presented an extensive program of economic reforms, came out in favor of the democratization of political life with public participation in management and in the economic reform, and a uniform Polish agriculture. But to realize these goals, 13 December was also necessary. There was no other way out because our political opponent was programmed to say "no." We restored order in Poland on our own, which also had eventful consequences. Some said that the party hid behind uniforms. But people in uniform can also be party members who fulfill their duties with honor and dignity.

Then the speaker concentrated on problems associated with overcoming the crisis. The legislative action conducted during the last period is impressive. New normative acts create the foundations for taking effective action, but they cannot change reality on their own. The answer to the question of how well known the new legal acts are is not, however, unequivocal. The greatest barriers must be overcome in people's attitudes. Years of government by directives have accustomed people to not take risks, have dulled inventiveness and initiative, and have instilled fear of responsibility. We must rely on intelligent and courageous people and promulgate the cult of good work and good organization.

The most important struggle, however, is taking place on the economic front. To the public, the state of store shelves is a measure of the effectiveness of accomplishments. The results of the economic actions are positive, but we must not satiate ourselves with cheap optimism by comparing today to the worst times of the crisis. After all, in comparison to the better times no one is satisfied. But the unsatisfactory results cannot be blamed exclusively on the restrictions; they also are based on our own errors and on still-poor work organization and work quality. Of course, Poles will remember those unfavorable decisions against us that were made by those who once upon a time declared themselves to be our friends but who did not hesitate to strike us painfully when times were difficult for Poland. A sharp struggle is going on between the political systems. Our opportunity lies in cooperation with the CEMA countries, but one must also be aware of the fact that no one will take on the obligation of financially supporting a nation of 36 million.

Our opportunity lies in reform. The program of the 3-year plan must be realized effectively. Its greatest threat is inflation. It is actually inflation that disorganizes the market, saps motivation to work. The need to raise food prices is not based on the changes in purchase prices. At first, the prices of production resources rose, causing a chain reaction, and as a consequence the costs of agricultural products had to increase, followed by food price increases.

The next portions of Zbigniew Michalek's speech were devoted to agriculture and the food economy.

The program to expand agriculture that was outlined at the Ninth Congress and substantiated at the 11th Plenum is a joint program of the party and the ZSL. The party and the ZSL are jointly monitoring the realization of this program; they also are jointly responsible for it. The 11th Plenum program returned the worker-peasant alliance to its proper status. Workers as well as peasants live by the work of their own hands. For this reason, an amendment can be inserted into the Constitution about the permanency of private family farms that do not employ hired labor.

Polish agriculture must develop on its own, its own model. Striving for ready solutions introduced by our nearest neighbors is not possible. They, after all, solved their own structural problems a long time ago using formulas that were compromised in Poland because of bad implementation. Also, we should not copy Western models uncritically. It would be easy to achieve the desired agricultural structure. It would only be necessary to bankrupt two of every three farms in Poland, and four out of every five in Nowy Sacz Province, by economic methods. That is how it is actually done in the West. In a 20-year period, purchase prices increased 140 percent; food prices, 200 percent; and costs of production resources, 280 percent. Only the best persevered. But we must remember that our system is a system for the people, thus we support a solution to this problem by way of natural social processes.

Naturally, the disadvantageous agricultural structure has its negative consequences, especially with regard to mechanization. All the weaknesses and failures of our agriculture, however, cannot be blamed on the bad structure. At one time, one heard: "Give us fertilizer and the yields will be good." Now the fertilizer is stored in warehouses, but yields continue to be poor. This year the grain yields on state farms amounted to 32.8 q/ha, and on private farms 26 q/ha. If on those 8 million hectares on which grain is grown we could obtain the state farm yields, it would not be bad at all; perhaps we can even start thinking about export. The state farms use 100 kg more fertilizer than private farms, but this difference does not in the least explain the economic results. Seven quintals of grain generates 12,000 zlotys, but 100 kg of chemical fertilizer costs only 2,000 zlotys. Thus the argument that it does not pay to invest in fertilizer is faulty. Our prices in agriculture are based on the average farm. At present price levels, those who are efficient earn the most. For second-rate farmers, all price calculations will be unprofitable. Grain yields and harvests are now at 1978 levels, a good year. But at that time meat consumption was much higher. That year we also imported 9 million tons of fodder, and this year only 3 million tons. At that time Poland had 21 million pigs, now there are 16.5 million. We cannot rely on imports, but it also is a fact that the poor are eating less meat worldwide. Current agricultural policies give preference to plant production. We will be able to expand animal husbandry without fear of disadvantageous competition only if we have our own fodder base.



The Central Committee secretary evaluated Nowy Sacz's agriculture positively. Using the average value of purchase/hectare as a measure, the province is at the national average, even with the worst climatic and soil conditions in the country. To make a comparison of the mountainous provinces, only Walbrzych produces better results, but Krosno, Bielsko Biala and Jelenia Gora produce worse results. This does not in the least justify satisfaction. There are areas, such as dairy farming and fruit-growing, where even better results can be achieved, supplying the surpluses to the neighboring regions.

In summarizing his speech, the Central Committee secretary concentrated on the burdensome privations of everyday life. There are still too many of them. There are still many human grievances, injustices and phenomena that must be effectively uprooted from our life. There should be no shortage of PZPR members here because this is where the party's credibility increases.

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CEAUSESCU 'INNOVATIONS' IN PARTY-STATE DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 12, 23 Mar 84 pp 11, 12, 18

[Article by C. Aristide: "Revolutionary, Innovative Spirit in Thought and Action: Innovative Thinking on Dialectical Relationship between Party and State"]

[Text] A remarkable contribution by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to development of the theory and practice of socialist construction in Romania is represented by the elaboration of an innovative concept bearing the profound stamp of the originality and dialectical spirit of his sociopolitical thought regarding the role of the Communist Party and of the socialist state and regarding the relationships between them while the new system is being built. Applying the scientific rigor characteristic of all his work, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has analyzed the essential changes that have taken place in the structure of our society, making a number of ideological clarifications with far-reaching implications in connection with the very content and forms of activity of the principal components of the political system and the specific role which each is called upon to perform in the general activities devoted to implementation of the Party program.

The fundamental theses, with their programmatic value, marking out the main directions of party and state activity throughout the period in which takes place the process of fashioning a well-rounded socialist society and advancement of Romania toward communism, demonstrate in magisterial fashion the indissoluble unity joining the revolutionary character of this process to the need for heightening the role of the party and state, and of the other political and social institutions, the objective conformity of this phenomenon to law and the fact that, as the stages through which society passes in its upward progress are completed, the political institutions do not remain unchanged but rather undergo significant structural transformations.

One of the changes of revolutionary essence in the structure of our socialist state is the institution a decade ago of the high function of president of the republic, to which the party and people have elected the first communist of the country, the Secretary General of the Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A contribution of cardinal importance to enrichment of the theory of scientific socialism and an especially valuable guide to practical activities

is represented by the ideas set forth in the works of the President of the Republic according to which the role of the party and state must be understood and carried out as a process of organic integration of the party and state, simultaneous and naturally interwoven with the development of socialist democracy. It is in this context that there has been instituted in Romania a comprehensive and original unified system of management of the country by the people, a system made up of broadly representative organizations at the national level and in economic and regional administrative units, a political, economic, and social democracy of a new type which assures direct, permanent, and systematic participation by the working class and the entire people in management of the state and society. Optimum operation of this system, which combines, in broad and fair representation, general interests with the specific interests of the various social and professional categories, presupposes political and organizational activity on a vast scale by the party and state, but also the necessary understanding and constant perception of what is new, of the qualitative changes objectively taking place in the content and nature of the functions performed by the party and state.

An especially eloquent example in this context of the creative, revolutionary way in which the Secretary General of our Party has managed to generalize on the theoretical level the qualitative changes experienced by the socialist state, is the fact that the concept of state in the sense of dictatorship of the proletariat has become inoperative, being deemed unsuited to the stage reached by our socialist system, with the result that the theory of the state has been updated and the state has been adequately defined in accordance with its democratic essence. "Considering the transformations that have taken place in our socialist society, the new democratic forms of management," points out Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "we may assert without fear of error that the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat no longer corresponds to the current social and historical realities of Romania. This concept is based on unquestionable realities and takes into account the fact that, primarily in Romania, "along with conquest of power and elimination of bourgeois exploitation, the proletariat has abolished itself, being transformed in a new class, the working class administering, owning, producing, and reaping the benefits of all the wealth of the nation," and secondly that "the working class has never proposed to wield, and does not wield, power in dictatorial fashion."

Replacement of the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat by a concept which gives expression precisely to the structural changes undergone by political power and by the broadly democratic methods whereby this power is wielded thus constitutes a necessary and fully justified theoretical innovation. This new concept has been defined by President Nicolae Ceausescu in terms devoid of any ambiguity as a state of revolutionary worker democracy; the concept has the merit of being fully in keeping with the new social realities.

The concept of state of revolutionary worker democracy has acquired a consistency with practical theoretical and political substantiation in the form of the theses worked out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in recent years,

ones which throw into even clearer relief the new relationships between the state and society, the Party, and the democratic self-management bodies. They have strongly stressed the adequate, harmonious, dialectical character which these relationships must assume in close connection with concrete historical realities. There has thus been formulated the exceptionally important conclusion, one with major practical consequences, to the effect that in defining the relationships between the democratic workers' state and society one may not disregard the objective fact that the people is the owner of the means of production, while the state is the administrator of the national wealth. It follows that the state is responsible to the people for defense of socialist property and for firm application of the laws expressing the will of the people.

The emphasis placed on the need for having the state and its bodies under the permanent control of the masses of the people illustrates the very essence of democracy and contributes toward creation of the preconditions designed to ensure "balance and suitable harmony between the democratic bodies and state bodies, which are not opposed to each other but must work together harmoniously to form the unified system of socialist democracy"\*.

The problems connected with the relationships between the party and state have been examined from the same innovative perspective, receiving from the Party Secretary General attention which is especially justified since appropriate clarification of these relationships depends on the efficiency itself of social management, that is, elimination of the contradictions and malfunctions which might impede the activity of socialist construction. The theses and principles which place interpretation and orientation of the relationships created between the party and state under the conditions of our society on a scientific basis were crystallized as early as the 9th Congress, and especially at the time of elaboration of the party program. In the light of this conception and the political practice in which it is given objective embodiment, the relationships between party and state are organized within certain essential coordinates which together make up an organic unity exerting a powerful positive effect on sociopolitical organization and management.

One of these coordinates is represented by the intrinsic reality of our socialist system, with firm historical and sociopolitical determinations, reflected in the principle, confirmed at the time of establishment of the country, that "in the Socialist Republic of Romania the political force leading all of society is the Romanian Communist Party." All relationships between the party and the governmental or nongovernmental components of the political organization of society have been organized on the strength of this principle, which is in operation at the level of the overall social system. The thesis relating to leadership of the socialist state by the party has been organically integrated with the programmatic orientation of

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\*Nicolae Ceausescu, Report to the PCR National Conference, 16-18 December 1982, Editura politica, 1982, p 43.

the party in the direction of continuous strengthening of the links between the state and the popular masses, as a major objective and trend in improvement of the activities of the state.

At the same time, particular importance has been attached to delimitation from the theoretical viewpoint and solution from the practical viewpoint of the question of the interaction of the functions assigned to the party and state in the unified system of socialist democracy. It has thus been possible to observe that both leadership of society and the state by the party and management of socioeconomic activities by the state, carrying into effect of the general political objectives established by the party, are interdependent aspects of the same dialectical process of political management of socialist society. In the view of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the fact that the party performs the role of leading political force does not exhaust and should not be construed as covering all the component elements of the socialist leadership function, and should not lead to monopolization of all political life and of social leadership as well, which in practice is accomplished by the entire political system. Leadership by the party has to do primarily with the general political aspect, with determination, the content, and the direction of general activity, with specification of objectives and harmonious correlation of institutional factors--in short, strategy and tactics, and with union and mobilization of the workers for carrying out the general political line. At the same time, the state is assigned an essential role in direct management of economic and social activities. "It must ensure unified, planned management of all economic and social activities, of all sectors, and attainment of balance, harmonious development of society, and the fullest possible agreement between production forces and social relations"\*.

In performing specific functions and bearing responsibilities of their own in the management of society, the activities of the party and state and the relationships between them have crystallized in the direction of relative specialization of roles and methods of action. This phenomenon coexists in a dialectical relationship with unification of the principles of organization of the party and state, with the unified ideological orientation of the entire political system. The performance by the party and state of their own clearcut roles is harmoniously complemented by the basing of their organization and operation on the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership and work, of organic integration into the life of society, precisely because the political system as such, society as a whole, is subordinate to the same ideal, the same major political goals, and is guided by the same political values and norms. Defining the party from the viewpoint of its position, role, and functions as the vital center of the entire social system, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses the overwhelming importance of the leading political role of the party and the great responsibilities assigned to it in comprehensive development of society.

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\*Nicolae Ceausescu, Report to the National Conference of the PCR, 16-18 December 1982, Editura politica, 1982, p 42.

Only by acting as a "coordinating center for all spheres of social and political life"\* can the party be drawn and integrated into systematic, unified operation of the state and the other structures which make up our sociopolitical system. But as is made clear in the work of the Secretary General, the objective requirement of heightening the leading role of the party does not diminish and is not in conflict with heightening the role of the state. What undergoes substantial change during the process of socialist construction is not the *raison d'etre* of these two political institutions but their essence, their social nature, the qualitative level at which the role of each is performed.

As an energizing factor and leading political force of the state, the party ensures increase in the efficiency of the activities of the state, closely coordinated with the requirements of the science of management involving direct participation by the workers. Hence heightening the role of the state cannot and must not be construed as a process of extension of state control over social life, but rather as continuing amplification of participation by the people in the activities of state management as a whole. It is precisely the conformity of the development of the state to these parameters that represents the essential nature of the relationships deriving, for the party and state, from performance of the leading role of the party in society and in the state.

The real qualitative changes that have taken place at the level of the state underlie assessments and conclusions which outline another major characteristic of the concept connected with party and state relationships. As a state of revolutionary worker democracy, the state has ceased to be an instrument of class domination and has become an authentic representative of the power of the entire people. Being ever more markedly integrated into a very broad array of organisms and forms of direct participation by the masses in the exercise of power, the state may no longer be considered to be exclusively an organism or an instrument for exercise of power in the name of the working class and the people. The close cooperation at all levels between agencies of the state and citizens enables the state to fulfill together with the party an important role in stimulating the creative activities of the people and not just the role of administering these activities in the name of the people. Going beyond the view of a state reduced solely to the dimensions and role of instrument, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out that "today we say that the state is the supreme representative of owners and producers, the organizer of the common life of the entire people and entire nation."<sup>3</sup> In its capacity of active and responsible organizer of social life, representing the supreme power in society, the state and its legislative and executive organs are not and cannot be an entity inferior to the party. It follows that party and state relationships are not such that the state is hierarchically subordinate to the party. The President of the Republic points out that the question of

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\*Program of the PCR, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1975, p 115.

the relationships between the party and the state should also not be couched in terms of hierarchical ranking of the position held by each in society. Since both are of independent importance and perform specific roles, the relationship between the party and the state is characterized by the reality that, as for society in the aggregate and for the state in particular, the party program represents a guide to all activities, just as for society as a whole and consequently for the party the measures and decisions of the state conforming to law are absolutely mandatory. Any violation of the laws of the country is incompatible with the status of party member and, consequently, as is pointed out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "no one may for any reason disregard or violate the decisions and laws of the country. I stress this problem because, when we speak of heightening the leading role of the party, we must proceed from the fact that all its members, communists in all sectors, wherever they may be, must fight resolutely for respect for the decisions and laws of the country".<sup>4</sup>

A conclusion of exceptionally great theoretical and practical value for party and state relationships, drawn from our political reality and elevated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the rank of principle, is that relating to the incompatibility of replacing the state and its agencies with the party and party organs. It is of outstanding practical importance, since no system can operate at the optimum while relationships capable of harmonizing and correlating the actual contribution made by each to reduction of the whole do not exist between its component parts. It aids in improvement of the performance of the system of socialist democracy, which can turn its superiority to good account not by eliminating one element or another in one way or another, and especially not the state, from the normal cycle of the whole, but by eliminating contradictions that might affect increase in the degree of integration and dynamism of the system, owing to the opportunity given to each subsystem of exercising its functions and authority in accordance with the requirements of the role which it plays in general public activities.

To the characteristics of the party and state relationships indicated in the foregoing there is to be added a feature which largely supplements and emphasizes their dialectical nature, that is, the objective logical tendency toward interweaving of party and state activities. Considered by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to be a phenomenon which will be more pronounced as time passes, interweaving of the activities of the party and state is closely linked to the need for better specification of the forms of organization and methods of management, under conditions of broadening of the role of the state in directing all aspects of economic and social activities. The objective social basis of interweaving of party and state activities is made up of factors such as universal institution of socialist production relationships, intensification of the process of social homogenization, and the position of the party and state as subsystems of the political system, which aims at unified objectives. Of course, as is pointed out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in order for such interweaving to assume the most suitable forms, that is, not lead to hypertrophy of the activity of one component to the detriment of the other, but to permit combination of the specific activities of all components of the system in simultaneous action, without

causing mutual loss of responsibility or blending of roles, it is necessary for this entire process to be consciously directed by the party, the vital center of the entire system. And mention may be made in this context of the extensive experience culminating in results that have validated the solutions proposed by the party and its Secretary General. Solutions of a first category have been aimed at strengthening the links between the party and state within the framework of the existing organizational structures and forms and have been given concrete expression chiefly in simultaneous holding of party and state offices from the local level to the central level and in introduction of the principle of rotation of party and state cadres.

Solutions of a second kind have necessitated creation of new and original political organizational structures within the framework of our political system, such as agencies with a twofold party and state character, and in a certain regard the worker self-management organs. These new structures incorporate in organic unity features and functions (or elements of functions) performed by party and state in common, ones linked especially to the process of carrying into effect the specific content of significant aspects of the act of social management (forecasting and planning, organization, control) or unified performance of complex tasks in spheres of maximum importance such as socialist education of the masses, coordination of the development of science, coordination of the activities of the people's councils, etc.

All these forms of combining party and state activities signify primarily that "the party approaches the problems of its leading role in the state from more openly committed positions, by virtue of the fact that it is a party of government"\* , but at the same time implies association of the party and state, as well as other social organisms, in the entire systemic cycle of study of reality and interpretation of the requirements of social development, harmonization of the interests of the social classes and categories in the policy elaborated, to the point of evaluation of the impact of decisions adopted on the social system and preparation of organizational, institutional measures for continuing improvement in the performance of the political system.

The institution of these forms and organisms for achievement of interweaving of party, state, and public activities, precise determination of their position and responsibilities in the general system of management of our society, on the basis of the theoretical and practical theses relating to characterization of the dialectical relationships between the party and state elaborated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, contributes to improvement in our political system, to elimination of phenomena of duplication of effort and overlapping, meeting the objective requirements of increase in the efficiency and qualitative performance of the political leadership of society, and constitutes an important and original contribution to enrichment of the theory and practice of socialist construction.

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\*The Role of the Romanian Communist Party in the Political System of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in the book 'The Political System of the Socialist Republic of Romania,' coordinated by Ioan Ceterchi, Ovidiu Trasnea, and Constantin Vlad, Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1979, p 32.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, 'Romania on the Path of Construction of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society,' Vol 22, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1982, p 194.
2. Ibidem.
3. Romania on the Path of Construction of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society, Vol 24, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1983, p 36.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, Address at the Working Conference on Problems of Organizational and Political Educational Work, 2-3 August 1983, Bucharest, Editura politica, 1983, p 11.

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'INNOVATIVE' CONCEPTS OF CEAUSESCU HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 25 Mar 84 pp 6-9, 47

[Article by Dr Ion Ceterchi: "An Innovative, Scientific Concept About the Evolution of Our Socialist State"]

[Text] In president Nicolae Ceausescu's creative social-political thought of broad scope and vast learning, having deep implications in the development of contemporary Romanian society and powerful reverberations in international relations, special focus is given to the problems of the socialist state and its place and role in the grand work for the socialist and communist revolutionary transformation of the country.

Beginning with the basic theses of scientific socialism regarding the historical and class nature of the state in general and with the need for the proletariat and its allies to acquire political power in the socialist revolution, as a guarantee for its victory, its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, approaches the complex problem of the socialist state from the perspective of the laws of the dialectics of social processes. In this regard, he begins with the principled position that the socialist state is subject to the laws of social determinism not as a passive object, but, on the contrary, as a phenomenon which, being determined in its existence by the conditions of material affairs and by the relationship of the class forces, has for its part an active role in the revolutionary transformation of social realities and represents a decisive instrument in the hands of the working class and the socialist nation for the conscious building of a new system.

Unanimously appreciated and adhered to by our people - at the same time, having a broad international echo - this thesis of great theoretical-political value that has been elaborated by our party refers to the nature of the Romanian state during the current stage as a state of revolutionary, socialist, workers democracy and renounces the dictatorship of the proletariat as an outdated stage for Romanian society. The concept of the socialist state as a state of revolutionary, workers democracy expresses in itself the quintessence of the social-political thought of president Nicolae Ceausescu in an indissoluble unity with all his political activities in leading the party, state and Romanian society over the last 19 years. Not being the result of a current theoretical analysis, this concept is the crowning touch in a natural, we could even say necessary, manner of the fundamental transformations of the state and our entire

political system that were started in 1965 at the initiative of and as an expression of the daring and creative thought of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

We find the seeds of this concept in the new means of approaching the problem of socialist construction, socialism and democracy, the state and the nation, and social laws and responsibilities in the documents of the Ninth RCP Congress and in the 1965 Constitution of Victorious Socialism, which marked the transition of our society and state into a new stage of development. Alongside the great achievements in increasing the forces of production and improving socialist relationships and in consolidating the entire people's moral-political and ideological unity and enhancing the socialist nation, the period from the election of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as secretary general of the party is characterized by the constantly stronger and multi-valued affirmation of socialist democracy, by the participation of the masses in the management of the state and all economic-social affairs and by the attainment of the party's leading role in society in a new concept, as a vital center of the socialist nation and the entire system of political organization. The decisions of the following party congresses, national conferences, Central Committee and other party and state leadership organs, and the RCP Program each time developed and enriched this process, a process that was finalized, as stressed at the 12th RCP Congress, in the creation of a new organizational leadership framework for the country by the people themselves, where the prominent place is held precisely by the state of workers, revolutionary, socialist democracy.

Furthermore, in the view of the secretary general of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which characterized our socialist state at the beginning of its evolution, is understood as a power of the working class that is achieved with the participation of the great majority of the people and through which a new democracy is ensured, directed against the exploiting minority that was thrown out of power. "It can be said," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "that when one spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat one had in mind the working class's elimination of the old social system that was divided into classes, the oppression and economic inequities, and the exploiting classes. One started with the need for overthrowing the bourgeois regime by revolution, with eliminating the exploiters without consulting with them, without asking them whether they agree or not with being expropriated. But, one always had in mind that the socialist revolution is the product of the struggle of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other interested social forces and categories who want to achieve a more just and better society - in other words, with the active participation of the great majority of the people and that the political power of the working class must ensure a broad democracy, one superior to bourgeois democracy."<sup>1</sup> Along this line of understanding, we note the firm attitude of our party and its secretary general in condemning the abuses and illegalities carried out in the past, as well as the measures adopted after the Ninth RCP Congress and, especially, at the April 1968 RCP CC Plenary Session so that such deeds will never be repeated.

Therefore, one can see that, along with the final elimination of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, with the triumph of the unified socialist economy, which marked our country's transition from capitalism to socialism, and with the beginning of a new stage of consolidating socialist advances and, later, of building a multilaterally developed socialist society - a moment marked in a political-legalistic sense by the Ninth RCP Congress and by the adoption of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1965 - in a practical sense the Romanian socialist state ceased to be expressed as a dictatorship of the proletariat, ever more powerfully carrying out the process of its transformation into a state of workers, revolutionary, socialist democracy, a state corresponding to the development and improvement of social-economic relationships and to the new social structures in society made up of socialist, allied, united and friendly social classes and categories.

The transition from the dictatorship of the proletariat to the workers, revolutionary, socialist democracy did not occur at a fixed date. It was the result of a complex process within which socialist democracy became the all-encompassing and sole means of exercising power, not merely in a declarative manner, but as a specific reality of life, one felt by all citizens and actually achieved by them. To this end, under the leadership of the president of the country measures were adopted on multiple levels for the creation of the new institutionalized framework for the participation of all workers in leadership and for the complete exercise of civil rights and freedoms. In this process, the socialist state is subjected to certain profound transformations, it extends its social base, it increases its role and modifies its functions, and the form and mechanisms of the state are developed and improved.

In guiding this process and ensuring finding certain optimum solutions, the party, led by its secretary general, permanently had in mind the application of the general laws of socialist construction to the social-economic and national historical realities of our country, and the concern for the strengthening and prosperity of our state and nation, for the full affirmation of the sovereignty and independence of socialist Romania and for its ever more active participation in international affairs from a position of equality.

The strengthening and improvement of the socialist state required the adoption of certain efficient measures for the improvement of the structure, organization and operation of the system of state organs, the basing of all their activities upon certain consistently democratic principles, the selection and training of state cadres, the combating of phenomena of bureaucracy and formalism, the provision for a rationalization and simplification of structures, and the strengthening of the masses' control over all of the links of the state apparatus.

There was special significance in the measures regarding increasing the role of the organs of supreme and local state power and, especially, providing a precise delimitation between the activities and authority of representative organs and executive organs, and, at the central level, between the supreme

organs of state power, on one hand, and the government, ministries and other central organs of state administration on the other hand. Such a delimitation was a question of principle, imposed by the need to re-establish the constitutional rights of the Grand National Assembly - as a supreme organ of state power elected on the basis of the universal, equal, direct and secret vote and as the sole law-making organ under whose leadership and review all the other state organs carried out their activities - and the Council of State, as the supreme organ of state power having a permanent activity, as well as the people's councils as the local representative organs of state power. Firm measures were adopted for combating practices damaging or contrary to the Constitution, practices that had been established prior to 1965 in state activities where there was an overlapping of the executive organs - the Council of Ministers and the ministries - and those of power and a narrowing of the role of laws as the main instruments of leadership and their replacement by decisions of the government and by orders and instructions from the ministries, practices which, at the same time, had diminished the role of the organs of supreme and local power.

The measures adopted at the initiative of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the area of the even more accentuated furthering of the democratic nature of the electoral system by way of the offering of multiple candidates in an electoral district, the fostering of work and growth of responsibility of the representatives to their electorate, the rise in the role of the permanent commissions, the introduction of extended sessions and so forth, were also designed to ensure the growth of the role of the Grand National Assembly in all leadership activities and in discussing the most important problems of our domestic and foreign policies.

Among the measures taken in the direction of strengthening and improving the supreme state leadership, an exceptional place and significance goes to the March 1974 creation of the position of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania as the supreme organ of state power elected by the Grand National Assembly. The growth of the role of the state in the leadership of all economic-social affairs and the requirement for adopting certain direct and effective measures at the supreme level in the context of amplifying the problems of political leadership and in view of implementing party decisions and the country's laws and development plans and programs, as well as the need of ensuring direct and highest level representation in the foreign affairs of the Romanian socialist state - generated by the considerable increase in the role of socialist Romania in international affairs - brought about the creation of the position of president of the Socialist Republic of Romania as the chief of state who represents the state power in domestic and international affairs, with modifications being made in this regard in the country's Constitution on the basis of an unanimous vote of the representatives in the Grand National Assembly and approved by the consensus of all our people.

The president of the republic is the president of the Council of State, as well as the supreme commander of the armed forces and president of the Defense

Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania. He presides, when necessary, over sessions of the Council of Ministers, accredits and recalls Romania's diplomatic representatives, receives the accreditations and recalls of diplomatic representatives of other countries, concludes international treaties in the name of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and fulfills other attributes that are established by the Constitution.

Giving a profound democratic and original outline to the institution of president of the republic, the Constitution establishes the election of the president in the first session of the legislature of the Grand National Assembly. At the same time, in accordance with fundamental law, during the legislature's meeting the president of the republic is accountable to the Grand National Assembly for all his activities. Furthermore, in our constitutional system, the president of the republic continues to be a representative of the Grand National Assembly, with all the rights and obligations corresponding to this distinct quality of the nation.

Expressing the will of all our people and all the citizens of the country regardless of their nationality, the Grand National Assembly unanimously elected on 28 March 1974 as president of the Socialist Republic of Romania comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the most beloved son of the Romanian people, an eminent patriot and revolutionary, a prominent personality in contemporary international affairs and one of the most shining politicians and statesmen in the history of the Romanian people.

Elected to the highest position in the country as the first president of the country, the chief of state, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has led and is leading the destiny of the country with a glowing and high competency, not sparing any effort for the direct fulfillment of the Party's Program for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing the country towards communism. The voice of the president of socialist Romania, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - the brilliant creator and exponent of the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state - his ideas and options for resolving the great problems facing contemporary mankind and his positions and initiatives for ensuring peace and eliminating the danger of a nuclear war and for creating a new international economic and political order are listened to and studied with the greatest attention by politicians, international organizations and representatives of public opinion and scientific research.

The development of our state under the conditions of socialism cannot be separated from the general context of the evolution of society, the overall system and its political subsystem. In this regard, there is principled value in the theses elaborated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the ever more powerful integration of the state in society, the blending of party activities with state activities and public organisms and the expression and institutionalization of direct forms of mass participation in leadership at all levels on the basis of the principles of worker self-management, economic-financial self-administration and territorial self-management and self-supply.

The socialist state of workers democracy, as the supreme representative of the owners, producers and users, and all the people - as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out -, has a growing role in the management of all economic and social activities, in the steadfast fulfillment of the party's domestic and international policies and in the organization of the entire nation's economic affairs. To this end, the function of the state to manage and organize economic-social affairs and economic, social and cultural-educational functions is developed and takes on an ever broader scope. The role of planning, scheduling and forecasting in the management of society in all areas of social activity takes on a growing significance. The scientific parameters of the decision-making process must increase to the level of the requirements and possibilities offered by the contemporary scientific and technical revolution.

At the same time, while there is no longer a function of class repression since socialist society does not have social classes or categories hostile to socialism, the state of workers, revolutionary democracy exercises a function to protect socialist property and lawful order and ensures the carrying out and safeguarding of the citizens' democratic rights and freedoms. In a qualitatively superior manner socialism guarantees the fulfillment of human rights, in the center of which is the right to life and peace and the right to well-being in a free society based upon the work and responsibility of each person, where the purpose of all state activities is ensuring human freedoms and dignity and multilaterally expressing the human personality. The firm implementation of socialist legalities and the norms of social behavior are part of the essential characteristics of state activities. The organs of justice, the prosecutor's office and the Ministry of the Interior carry out their activities in conformity with the country's laws and in a close link with the workers and with the participation of the masses.

The understanding and strict adherence to the laws in all activities, their firm application with regards to all those who have been found guilty of violating them by way of antisocial acts, as well as the care so that no innocent person will be unjustly punished, the concern for the prevention of violations of legal norms and the education of citizens in the spirit of strengthening order, discipline and social responsibility are essential aspects of the party and state's policy which are permanently stressed by the president of the republic, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. "We must ensure the operation of the state of workers democracy in the spirit of the strongest discipline, order and responsibility on the part of all party and state organs and organizations... No one is allowed for any reason to not consider or to violate the decisions and laws of the country"<sup>2</sup> - the secretary general of the party pointed out at the working conference on the problems of organizational and political-educational work in Mangalia in August 1983.

The superiority of the democracy of the socialist state and its realism and efficiency are also expressed in the multiple and institutional means of direct participation of the masses in the management and review of state activities, in the state organs' cooperation with the organism of self-management and the mass and public organizations, and in the superior forms

of the party's carrying out leadership and combining party and state activities as an expression of the unity of will and action between the party, the state and the people. Special attention is given to bringing together in leadership activities in state organs, as well as in the party organs and in the democratic organisms, those workers who work directly in material production, other workers, foremen and cooperatist peasants, as well as women and young people. The composition of the representative organs of the power of the state of workers, revolutionary democracy - the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils - reflect the socialist structure of our society, the unity between the social classes and categories - the working class, the cooperatist peasants and the intelligentsia -, the leading role of the working class in the state and society, and the brotherly unity between all workers regardless of nationality on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist solution to the nationality problem. Within them, women and young people are represented with an increasing percentage from one legislative session to another. It can be said that there are no social categories of citizens who carry out their activities in the most diverse areas of social affairs who do not find, in one form or another, representation in the organs of state power.

In this regard, a special role is played by the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity - created at the initiative and according to the concept of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - as the broadest political, patriotic and revolutionary organism having a representative character. Created from the Romanian Communist Party, which plays the role of the leading political force, the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity, the mass, public, professional and cooperatist organizations, the workers councils belonging to the co-inhabitating nationalities, the artists unions, the scientific, cultural and sports associations and societies, and the cults, as well as other organizations, and the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity achieve the unification and coordination of the efforts of all the people and the socialist cohesion of all the country's citizens, regardless of their nationality, in creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and communism in our country. Either directly or through its component organizations, the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity has an important role in achieving the functions of the state and in improving the activities of its organs. The Front organizes, under the leadership of the party, electoral campaigns, proposes candidates to be representatives, guides and reviews the activities of representatives, organizes public discussions of draft laws and decisions and consultations with citizens regarding the problems that concern the country's development, as well as the development of the counties and localities, actively promotes civic responsibility and firm adherence to the laws, order and discipline, and organizes and leads workers' reviews. The National Council of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity has the right to initiate legislation and, together with the party Central Committee, makes proposals for the Grand National Assembly's election of the supreme state leadership organs, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.



Similarly, the workers' participation in the activities of the state organs is also ensured by their inclusion in the make-up of the government, as members, of the president of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, the president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the president of the National Women's Council, as well as the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth as the minister of youth affairs. In all the leadership organs of the ministries there are representatives of the party organs, the trade union organizations and the other public organizations according to the nature of the activities that are carried out, as well as workers - workers, foremen and so forth - who work directly in production.

An original form of combining party activities with state activities is the creation of organisms having a dual nature in the field of economic-social development, organization, workers' review, scientific guidance, socialist culture and education and so forth. Among these, a separate place belongs to the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development - an organ of a deliberative nature composed of party and state leadership cadres, workers who work directly in production units in industry, construction and transportation, highly-qualified specialists and peasants from the agricultural production cooperatives and non-cooperativized localities -, which fulfills attributes of an economic parliament. This organism analyzes, discusses and advises on draft laws referring to the country's economic-social development, and completes studies and forecasts regarding the achievement of the Party Program in order to substantiate strategic options for Romania's development.

A brilliant example of the dialectic analysis of the state under the conditions of the victory of socialism and in the future transition to communist self-management is represented by the constant concern of the country's president for the creation of the new economic-financial mechanism, based on the principles of self-management, self-administration and self-financing, as well as the institutionalization of the system of workers self-management, beginning with the workers' general assemblies and councils and on up to the congresses of workers in industry, agriculture, art and culture, and education and training as the most representative democratic fora for the direct participation of the workers in the discussion and achievement of the party and state's policies and in the establishment of measures to strengthen the material and spiritual vigour of the country and its independence and sovereignty. At the same time, on the local and national level in the activities of the people's councils for the harmonious development of all the counties and localities and for the carrying out of self-management and territorial self-supply, a role of special importance is played by the Congress, the Conference and the Legislative Session of the people's councils.

In the view of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, these organisms, together with the state and public organs, under the leadership of the party, make up a

unique democratic system for the leadership of society, with their activities being harmoniously combined and mutually complementing each other with those of the state organs. Thus, we are not talking about diminishing the role of the state, but, on the contrary, of increasing its role and the role of its organs. Nor are we talking about the nationalization of the organisms of self-management, but rather their continuing and ever more powerful improvement and development in view of the future of communist society. In the dialectics of this view, both the nihilist thesis regarding the socialist state in view of the transition to communism as well as the nationalist thesis, of exaggerating the role of the state at the expense of the direct forms of the mass's participation in leadership, are avoided.

The growth of the role of the state and its organs takes place not in an administrative, coercive sense, but rather on the basis of increasing the socialist awareness of the citizens, of increasing the forms of direct participation and of combining the activities of the state organs with those of the democratic organisms, the sure path to achieve self-management. The socialist state of workers, revolutionary democracy has the popular masses as its inexhaustible source of power and their political, revolutionary involvement is a law in the building of the new system. Workers, revolutionary democracy absolutely requires an active, conscious attitude on behalf of the citizens towards the vast and complex problems of socialist construction and the involvement of each worker in the leadership activities, a responsibility to the country's socialist and communist future. "We must not forget for a second," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "that socialism is the conscious work of the people and that it is being built by the people and for the people. Therefore, we must do everything in order to ensure the direct democratic participation of the people in the management of society. At the same time, it is necessary for us to harmoniously blend the new organisms and new forms for the democratic management of society with the organs of the socialist state, beginning with the fact that all the activities of the state and all its organs are called upon to ensure the proper carrying out of economic-social affairs, the peaceful work of the people, order and peace for all the citizens."<sup>3</sup>

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has made a contribution of profound theoretical and political significance in the problem of the relationship between the communist party and the socialist state. Combating simplistic, basically mechanistic and non-dialectic theses regarding subordinating or superordinating one to another, the secretary general of the party has stressed the dialectic nature of this process where both the party and the state, in a close interdependency, each carry out its own specific role in the achievement of the tasks of building socialism and communism, without substituting one for the other. The leading role of the party in the state and in society does not mean under any circumstances either the replacement of the state organs or the weakening or diminishing of the role of the state and its organs. Over these nearly 2 decades since the Ninth RCP Congress in exercising the

leading political role of the party - which have been powerfully imprinted upon the configuration and progress of contemporary Romanian political affairs, becoming true traditions of life in the Nation and socialist Romania, these permanent forms have enriched the theory and practice of leading socialist society.

The organization of party congresses every 5 years, which marks the completion of the five year plan and the start of a new five year plan in accordance with the directives approved by the congress, and are followed by elections for the supreme and local organs of state power, the legislation of the plans for the country's economic-social development, the convening of the national party conferences, the periodic holding of plenary sessions of the RCP Central Committee and sessions of the Grand National Assembly, as well as sessions of other central and local party and state organs which discuss and adopt party decisions as political documents of high authority and the laws and other state acts that are all designed to ensure the development of our society at new levels, and the organization of the people's lives and work within the framework of a strict legal order in accordance with the principles of socialist legalities, justice and equity, together with the meetings of the other fora of socialist democracy, have become expressions of the existence of our society that are just as necessary and natural as the breathing and beating of a heart for an organism.

The growth of the leading role of the party and the furthering of democracy in party affairs are a guarantee and a premise for amplifying the activities and strengthening the power of the socialist state and also for constantly more powerfully expressing democracy in all social and state activities in enriched and improved forms.

Bourgeois politicians and theoreticians denigrate socialist democracy for a lack of "pluralism and opposition." That we do not have opposition is true, but this is a credit and not a deficiency of socialism, which eliminated the exploitation of man by man and exploiting classes - the source of social antagonisms and opposition interests between the governing and the governed. With regards to pluralism taken in its real meaning - and not in a formal sense as it is expressed in the bourgeois democracies -, is it not expressed precisely by way of the diversity and multitude of forms of participation offered by the system that is so rich, complex and multifaceted in the political organization of the party, the state, the public and workers self-management? It is, however, a diversity which offers the most appropriate framework for expressing the common aspirations and for unifying the efforts of all the people so as to obtain optimum results and a higher efficiency and quality in leadership activities and in the use and for the good and well-being of all people. This is where we see the qualitative, incontestable superiority of socialist democracy compared to any bourgeois democracy!

The creation of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement towards communism continue to require the existence of the state as an instrument of the people's power and the socialist nation. Clearly,

the new stages through which our society will have to pass will determine changes in the activities of the state and in its forms and functions; the state mechanism will be adapted to new requirements and tasks. Until the creation of the conditions for the gradual disappearance of the state, there still are important periods to pass through and special tasks to fulfill regarding the development of the social and production forces and relationships, the carrying out of the process of social homogenization and the affirmation of the new, socialist and communist awareness in society and in the life of each individual. Also arming us in this regard with a clear view, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982: "Currently, we must understand that the state will continue today - and over a long period of time, including in the communist society - to play an important role in organizing social affairs and in developing society. There will be changes in the forms of activities and the nature of the state in relationship to the development of the forces of production and society."<sup>4</sup>

Forty years after the carrying out of the social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution, the Romanian people, free and masters of their own destiny, have a socialist, powerful, sovereign, independent and unified state having a broad prestige that is unequaled in its past and an active role in international affairs. Under the leadership of the glorious party of the communists, headed by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, our people, involved in the grandest work of revolutionarily transforming the country, are filled with feelings of pride, trust and certainty in the triumph of their cause - communism, peace and social progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Trade and Finance," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981, pp 55-57.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Working Conference on the Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work," of 2-3 August 1983, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, p 11.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Presented at the Enlarged Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, 1-2 June 1982," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, p 33.
4. Ibid, p 41.

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ROMANIA

DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 25 Mar 84 pp 21-23

[Article by Lidia Oradean, state secretary in the Ministry of Health: "Demographic Policy and Social-Economic Progress"]

[Text] In the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism and in the works of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the fundamental directions are outlined, on the basis of certain thorough scientific analyses, for improving economic and social structures, with demographic problems being given special attention. The population, in fact, the workers, being the owners and producers of all national wealth, are at the same time also the main users of all the things that are produced. They are permanently in the center of the party and state's policies, whose final goal is Man - the supreme value of socialist society - and the full satisfaction of his material and spiritual requirements.

In the context of the unprecedented economic-social development of our country, the socialist society has provided all the conditions for the protection of health, man's most precious possession, and for the growth of the birth rate and the natural growth of the population. Throughout the years, important funds have been allocated to the development of the health network, over 16 billion lei in 1983, which has permitted, especially in the last three five year plans, the construction of hospital together with polyclinics in all the counties of the country, dispensaries, ambulance stations, blood collection and storage centers, pharmacies and other types of health unit that are better and better equiped. At the same time, within the framework of the six university centers in the country the necessary number of medical personnel were put together and trained in accordance with the scientific and technical progress in medicine, thus ensuring the conditions for dealing with and resolving all public health problems at a high level of medical-health professionalism. The imperative development of the health sector places Romania among the leading countries in the world with regards to the number of inhabitants per doctor (507 in 1983) or per health personnel (171 in 1983), health units and hospital beds.

The profoundly scientific policy in this field, conceived and promoted by the party, has in mind, in addition to the permanent development of the material base for the populations health care, the provision of a group of measures to strengthen the family as a basic cell of society, with special care for mothers, children and

young people. In this regard, we should note the laws and normative acts regarding health protection for young people and mothers, especially pregnant women on the job, the free cost of medical assistance and education, the development of a network of child care centers, kindergartens and camps for students, and so forth. Important amounts of funds are annually allocated - over 11 billion lei - from the state budget for maternity leave and leave to care for sick children, birth allowances, allocations and other forms of assistance to families with many children. All this proves the permanent care of the party and state to ensure the objectively necessary harmony between the general, economic and social progress of the country and the well-being of the people and the evolution of the demographic phenomena.

It is the special merit of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, to have understood the unfavorable evolution of certain demographic indicators in recent years. This led to the further analysis of certain of these phenomena within the framework of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and the drawing up of measures regarding increasing the responsibility of the party organs and organizations, the state organs and the medical-health cadres in carrying out the demographic policy and ensuring an appropriate increase in the population - with the development of the population being vital for providing the human resources necessary to continue to achieve the great objectives of Romania's economic-social progress.

The importance of ensuring an appropriate natural increase in the population is summarized in the great speech by the secretary general of the party at the plenary session of the Higher Health Council in March of this year. "We must never forget for a second," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "that we have a special responsibility to the people for the present and the future of our socialist nation of giving the greatest attention to achieving this fundamental objective and of taking all the measures necessary for the steadfast achievement of the party's policy in this field of activity. This requires, first of all, a decisive action in the direction of strengthening and protecting the family - as the basic cell of the nation - and of increasing the birth rate, the health and the young people in our population."

Currently, Romania's population has increased to approximately 22.6 million inhabitants, which places our country in ninth place in Europe from this point of view. During this period, the average annual rate of growth was .8 percent - higher than the average rate of population growth of Europe. Compared to other periods, however, when the average rate was one percent, the rate during the period 1975-1983 was lower. Nonetheless, in the European context Romania's population growth can be noted by way of higher values. Keeping in mind that economic indicators, especially national income per inhabitant, are characterized by growth rates several times higher than that for population, one can see the existence of a harmonious correlation between economic and demographic growth, which is finally expressed in increasing the people's standard of living.

The numerical increase in the population was accompanied by profound changes in distribution by sex and age and in its territorial distribution - a consequence of actions linked to demographic and economic-social factors. Changes took place at a rapid pace in the structure of the population according to specific characteristics: level of training, profession, participation in economic activities and membership in social classes and categories. Thus, according to the last census, the social structure of Romania's working population shows that over the course of 2 decades the percentage of the working class in the total working population increased from 20 percent in 1956 to 50.4 percent in 1977, representing - without a doubt - the most important change in social status, with the changes in the other social categories, however, being equally important.

There were also graphic changes that took place in the structure of the working population by sectors, with the increase in the percentage of the population working in industry and construction changing from 14.4 percent in 1956 to 70 percent in 1983, with this having to be evaluated as the most significant one from the point of view of modernizing the national economy and the working population. Similarly, we should stress the fact that during this period there was a systematic increase in the number of new jobs, on the average over 180,000 per year, which permitted the full employment of the natural growth in the population and the use of the workforce stemming from agriculture and the household population. This high level of employment of labor resources is, furthermore, characteristic of the male and female population. Thus, the data from the 1977 census show that 45 percent of the female population was employed in the different branches of the national economy.

Social and professional mobility was accompanied by a broad territorial mobility - the migration of millions of people from the villages to the cities, changing both their social status and professional status as well as their behavior with regards to the role and growth of the family. In this context, the training and professionalization system was permanently adapted to the stages of the country's economic, cultural and social development. It can be said, therefore, that modern Romania's population has permanently provided the workforce necessary for the national economy, with qualitatively improved professional characteristics. And, they fulfilled the role of the principal force of production, the decisive factor in ensuring the dynamic nature of the country's economic and social development.

Analyzing, however, the evolution of the principal demographic indicators, several aspects should be stressed. Over recent decades, the birth rate has resulted in a continually descending curve, one characteristic of all the European countries, but not in accordance with our people's and our families' vitality and capability for procreation. Within the framework of these dynamics there is an increase in 1967-1968 as a result of the implementation of decree No 770/1966, after which the downward trend continues, with it being especially accentuated in recent years, from 19.7 per thousand live births in

1975 to 14.3 in 1983. Paralleling this, the natural increase in the population charts a descending curve, falling from 10.4 to 3.9 per thousand, with this being primarily influenced by the reduction in the birth rate and conditions where general mortality is recording an increase merely from 9.3 to 10.4 per thousand.

In the future, as a result of the demographic phenomena of aging that is also occurring in the structure of our country's population - expressed by an increase in the percentage of the population over age 60 -, general mortality will continue to record a slight upward trend. This requires a thorough analysis on the part of the Ministry of Health of the structure of specific mortality by age group for the purpose of taking adequate measures and increasing the prophylactic component in medical care. "Preventative medicine," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the session of the Higher Health Council, "must continue to give its primary attention so that the role of the doctor is to prevent man's becoming ill, not just treating him."

As a result of an increase in the standard of living, health programs and the active preventative and curative medical care given to children in the group from newborn to one year, infant mortality has continued to fall from 34.7 in 1975 to 23.9 per thousand in 1983, and to more than half in comparison with 1969. Although the infant mortality indices are recording the lowest values to date in our country, we feel that it is still inappropriate compared to the basic material conditions and cadres provided by the state for health protection and infants' lives.

The reduction in the birth rate and the natural increase of the population was also influenced by the inadmissibly large number of abortions. This influence is also shown by the relationship between abortions and live births, which has increased from .9 in 1975 to 1.3 in 1983.

Faced with this situation, the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, in his noble and constant concern for the future of our socialist nation, although noting that significance progress has been made in carrying out the general policy in the health field, addressed harsh, thoroughly justified criticism at the Ministry of Health and the health units which did not work firmly and with exigency and total responsibility to ensure an appropriate natural increase and especially to combat and stop the illegal practice of abortions.

Fully understanding the criticisms that were directed at them and following up on the important directives contained in the speech at the recent plenary session of the Higher Health Council and in the Decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the Ministry of Health and the county health directorates will take a series of measures which will contribute to correcting the negative phenomena in the demographic evolution and to increasing the birth rate to 19-21 per thousand inhabitants.



In this regard, all medical-health personnel are involved with all their professional competence, with a responsibility of high ethical and moral quality and with passion and patriotic devotion in the general effort to ensure a continuing growth of our country's population and to achieve an appropriate structure by age groups.

Within the framework of these measures, the Ministry of Health primarily has in mind the improvement of the activities of the health units and the improvement of the quality of all medical care, especially that given to women and children. Thus, in order to ensure the health of women in urban and rural areas, there will be an intensification of medical examinations, especially for those women in the 20-30 year age group who represent the most fertile group and from whom, on the average, 75 percent of the total number of newborns come. These medical exams are aimed at the most common types of problems that can negatively impact upon pregnancy and the normal evolution of it.

In economic units, in cooperation with the leadership of these units and the trade union, women's and youth organizations, all the necessary measures will be established and pursued to eliminate risk factors at the place of work, both for the protection of women's health and for the avoidance of any negative influences upon pregnancy.

In order to come to the assistance of families which want children and for medical reasons cannot achieve this ideal, in each county there will offices to counter sterility and infertility, with the Ministry of Health preparing, to this end, the adequate regulations as well as training the necessary specialized personnel. Similarly, there will be an expansion of the offices for infantile gynecology offices for the purpose of the early finding and treatment of endocrine problems and other affections that could cause trouble in the normal evolution of the young, with the training of personnel to carry this out now in progress.

Special attention will be given to increasing the quality of medical supervision of pregnant women and, especially, those where risk is involved because of a pre-existing illness or one that appeared during pregnancy, so as to ensure the normal course of the pregnancy and the future of the child. Likewise, the necessary measures will be taken so that all pregnant women will give birth in maternity wards, thus ensuring the safety of the birthing for the mother and the newborn by having qualified medical assistance.

Women with multiple previous miscarriages will receive special attention and will be given special supervision and treatment so as to eliminate the percentage of spontaneous miscarriages. Special stress will be placed on the entire population's understanding the particular danger to the health and life of a woman in a miscarriage that is externally provoked, with this, in many cases, resulting in serious complications and sometimes leading to the death of young women.

For the purpose of continuing to reduce infant mortality, all newborns and infants will be placed under supervision, increasing the frequency of medical check-ups and the quality of these check-ups, both in the dispensaries and in the family, so as to find at the earliest possible stage any sign of illness or problem in the normal growth and development of the children.

Methods of instructing mothers will be extended and diversified so they understand the importance of natural feeding in the prevention of dystrophies and in the increase in the children's resistance to infections, as well as in ensuring the children's normal development. Similarly, it will be stressed to parents to seek out medical assistance at the smallest sign of illness or problem in the normal growth and development of their children in order to start the necessary treatment.

Along with the measures taken by the Ministry of Health and the health units to improve the preventative and curative medical care for the entire population, and on a priority basis for women, mothers and children, another field of action is health and civic education to influence the demographic behavior in favor of increasing the birth rate. This is even more necessary since it is in the tradition of our people and the Romanian family to have and raise a larger number of children. Knowing precisely these virtues of the people, the secretary general of the party stressed that: "there can be nothing more precious for a woman than to be a mother, than to bring to life the natural law itself, to procreate and to ensure the continuing development of the people and our nation."

Beginning with the very great importance of health education in promoting and preserving the health of the population, the Ministry of Health will mobilize to a greater degree the central organs, the mass and public organizations having attributes in the achievement of the tasks outlined in the Sole Health Education Plan, and, especially, the trade union, women's, youth and Red Cross organizations in order to intensify educational-health activities, to develop the awareness of the younger generation, to strengthen the family and to have a more accentuated increase in the population. This is even more necessary since the statistical data show that from year to year in recent times of the total number of women, on the average, 41 percent give birth to their first child, 31 percent to the second child and only 13.5 percent to a third child.

In the context of the forms and means of health and civic education designed to influence the demographic behavior of the population and, especially, the younger generation in the direction of increasing the size of the family - the basic nucleus of our socialist society - premarital and family advice offices will be organized in all counties. In cooperation with the youth organizations, the Red Cross and the Ministry of Education and Training, there will be an improvement in health education activities and training for family life in the schools and in socialist units.

The entire group of measures and actions promoted by the Ministry of Health, together with all those who have tasks in carrying out the demographic policy of our party and state, coincides with the positive evolution of the most numerous group of fertile women, born after 1967, and who will provide an additional capacity for procreation in our families in the immediately coming years. This will lead to the achievement of a normal demographic increase, as well as an appropriate proportion of ages in the population and to the maintenance of the youth of our people - essential conditions for raising Romanian society to new levels of progress and civilization in accordance with the provisions contained in the RCP Program for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism.

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DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES, RELATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 25 Mar 84 pp 34-38

[Fourth article in a series published in ERA SOCIALISTA Nos 19 and 20/1983; by Dr Elisabeta Traistaru, Dr Constantin Stroe, Dr Ioan Marginean and Dr Maria Cobianu-Bacanu of the Center for Sociological Research: "The Dynamics of Social Structures and Relationships in Our Country's Current Stage of Development"]

[Text] Social Homogenization and Diversification - Dr Elisabeta Traistaru

While participating in this discussion, Dr Tudor Ghideanu proposed replacing the concept of "homogenization" with that of "harmonizing" because "first of all, we are talking about seeking the solutions that will bring into agreement the forms of development in one branch with those in another economic branch, the interests linked to the diversity of social and professional structures" (ERA SOCIALISTA No 19 1983, p 23).

I feel that the use of the concept proposed by "harmonizing" does not present in all their complexity and scope the qualitative changes that have taken place in our country's social structure and class structure in the process of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society. At the same time, in my opinion, the use of the concept of social "harmonizing" is inadequate to the study of the dynamics of social structures, which have a contradictory nature.

The concepts of homogenization and diversification better characterize, I think, the innovative transformations that are taking place in economic-social affairs in the current stage of our country's development. Social homogenization is characterized by the unified existence of two contradictory facets: first - the increasing closeness between social classes and categories and the gradual elimination of social differences between people; second - diversification with regards to the structure of the social classes and categories, as well as the individual characteristics of the people.

The view of the RCP and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding social homogenization incorporates ideas of fundamental importance concerning the growth of the role of the working class as the leading social force in society and the close cooperation between social classes and categories and their active and effective participation in the management of economic-social affairs.

"The provisions of the future five year plan," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 12th RCP Congress, "will bring about new qualitative changes in the social structure, the growing homogenization of the socialist system and the growth of the role of the masses in the conscious management of society and in the creation of their own destiny."

The growing closeness between the social classes and categories, as well as the diversification within them, are brought about by the changes that are taking place in economic-social conditions as a result of the powerful development of the forces of production on the basis of the newest advances in contemporary science and technology, their placement throughout the country, the improvement of social relationships - first of all, those of ownership and distribution - and the organizational framework of workers' participation in the management of society.

The increasing homogenization of Romanian society gives to each citizen the opportunity to develop and express his complete physical and intellectual aptitudes in the country's economic, social-political and spiritual affairs. As is known, an original organizational framework was created which offers the opportunity for the direct participation of the social classes and categories in the management of all economic-social and spiritual affairs and in the elaboration, discussion and adoption of decisions, as well as in their implementation.

The dynamic factor of social homogenization and diversification is the powerful growth of the forces of production by incorporating the newest achievements of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution and their rational distribution throughout the country. The correlation between this distribution of the forces of production and the economic homogenization of regions of the country create ever better premises for the improvement of production relations and social relations and the organizational framework for the participation of all the population in the management of the economy and social affairs and in the governing of the country. These processes and their dialectical mutual influence have the future formation of a single worker people as their principal direction of evolution.

The rational placement of the forces of production throughout the country takes place by way of the unified consideration of the criteria for economic efficiency and the complex social problems, as well as the problems of raising the level of civilization of all the workers. In accordance with these principles, the new industrial projects were placed close to the sources of raw materials, energy or centers of consumers, ensuring the higher use of material and human resources. At the same time, a policy was pursued so that in those counties and localities where, because of the type and structure of production, men were working on a priority basis, new jobs were created for women in units belonging to light industry, the food industry and services.

Taking into consideration total production per inhabitant in order to evaluate the level of the counties' economic-social development constitutes a qualitatively

new element of gradually equalizing the working and living conditions in all the country's counties. If at the end of 1980 only 14 counties were over the limit of 70,000 lei of total production per inhabitant, in 1983 the number of counties which exceeded this limit increased by 15, with conditions being created so that by the end of the current five year plan the other counties in the country will exceed this level. The creation of a complex economic structure in each county made up of the basic sectors and the achievement of a minimum level of employment of the population of 400 persons per 1,000 inhabitants will have as a result the gradual homogenization of the economic and social structures throughout the country and the bringing close together all the counties with regards to the use of available human and material resources.

The rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country, the intensive development of industry and agriculture and the more accentuated growth of the energy and raw materials base are bringing about the continuing increase in the percentage of the working class in the total employed population, concomitantly with the diversification of the characteristics of the component groups. Thus, although the general interests of the entire working class are identical, there also are certain interests - with an economic priority - which differentiate the industrial branches and the detachments of the working class. Also making a contribution to this is the differentiated stimulation of the branches of the economy corresponding to the priorities of the country's economic-social development. Thus, for example, some categories of the working class who carry out their activities in branches of great importance, such as miners and oil workers, justifiably have a relatively more advantageous status in comparison to other categories of workers who are also in industry. Similarly, there is also a different status from the point of view of economic advantages for those workers who work in the top fields of industry and who, having high-level professional training, attain a greater labor productivity and thus receive higher incomes than others. Finally, workers in construction, by virtue of the specific nature of the branch in which they work, with the specific nature being determined by the importance of the projects in the development of the national economy and the particular working conditions, also receive larger incomes in comparison to other categories of workers.

The diversification of the component groups of the working class is also intensified by the inter-mingling that is taking place between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia under conditions of the intensive development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the national economy. In the current stage, skills such as those of mechanized equipment operator, irrigation system worker and electrician have a larger percentage within the framework of activities in rural areas, while those who exercise them come either from the ranks of the peasantry or from the new generation of workers, graduates from industrial and agro-industrial high schools. These groups have traits in common with those of industrial workers with regards to the ownership of the goods which they use and administer, the property belonging to all the people, as well as the form of payment (they receive a

monthly cash salary). At the same time, these groups of workers continue to also have traits in common with the cooperatist peasants. They are residents of the villages, with private farms and auxiliary plots. By way of their manner of living, their activities that they carry out on the private farms and their close family ties, they have a dual status of peasant-worker.

Under the conditions of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution and of raising the quality of the workers' professional training in the non-agricultural branches, an inter-mingling is also taking place between the different categories of highly-trained workers and the category of engineers who work directly in production. In the sense of ownership, payment and participation in the creation of social product and national income, engineers have traits in common with the workers.

The phenomenon of inter-mingling between social classes and categories and the diversification of the internal structures which are shaped within the class structure of our society show that the objective closeness between social classes and categories is taking place under the conditions of creating certain essential characteristics common to all social categories and close to those of different categories of workers, with the working class representing the central "axis" in the forging of the fundamental characteristics of the single worker people in the communist society of tomorrow.

The growth of the influence of the working class and its role of a leading social force in society does not at all mean, however, its counterpositioning opposite the peasantry and the intelligentsia. The exercise of the role of the leading social force in society is carried out on the basis of strengthening the worker-peasantry alliance and the unity of all the people around the communist party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Under these circumstances, the growth of the role of the working class in the process of social homogenization and diversification is accompanied by an increase in the role of all the social categories in economic-social activities and in the management of society through the full use of all the people's talents and creativity.

#### Social Relations and the Change of Activities - Dr Constantin Stroe

I feel that the discussion organized in Iasi with the participation of some of the specialized personnel from this prestigious university center is important both from a theoretical point of view, since the problems of social structure form the essence of materialist views about history together with those regarding the determining role of social-economic relations in the process of historical development, and from a practical point of view since its scientific study is absolutely necessary in order to improve social relationships, to rationally organize human activities and to scientifically substantiate the management of social processes. In my opinion,

what we should especially focus on is the efforts of the participants to decipher the significance of the newly intervening elements in the evolution of the socialist production relationships during the stage through which Romania is passing, the conditions which must be created in order to eliminate any factors which might slow the development of these relationships and the implications that their improvement has had and is having upon the social and class structures in our society.

It is true that in a discussion opinions are expressed that are not only "worn-out" points of view, but also opinions that are more daring, with a personal nuance, depending upon the personality of the author and his information and documentation in the problem area. Naturally, this is a good thing. But, clearly, even these more original points of view must be argued scientifically and, in the final analysis, they must be verified as truths precisely by their validation in life. In this context, as one participant pointed out in the discussion, "we should work with certain clear concepts, which we still do not have." In complete agreement with the author, we also sometimes note a certain shortfall in vocabulary, a certain falling behind in vocabulary compared to the changes that have taken place in the real social arena, changes to which it cannot catch up. In the desire to meet the needs of updating the vocabulary used by the social sciences, I believe we also have the statement of one of the participants that he would prefer to have the term "harmonize" rather than "homogenize" society in order to identify the closeness of the different social classes and categories in the future transition to communism. As far as I am concerned, I will continue to opt for homogenization, which I feel is more adequate since it suggests the mutual osmosis, interdependencies and penetrations between the social categories that make up our country's social structure, which means something more than just putting things into agreement, a harmonization.

Certainly, it is not just certain imprecise terminology that makes a mark on the discussions to which I referred. On the contrary. What characterizes them is the scientific spirit and strictness. Thus, a frequently used collocation in our social-political literature and party propaganda is "the triple function of the workers: owners, producers and users." It can be said that the introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism, with all its components, and the replacement itself of the name state property with that of the property of all the people - actually expressing a reality of our economy - result in the attainment by all the workers of the function of owners and the powerful affirmation of the role of actual administrators of portions of the property belonging to all the people that have been entrusted to them to be administered.

Stressing the significance of production relations does not, however, equate to reducing all social relations to this aspect, just as stressing the importance of ownership relations does not equate, in my opinion, to considering all others to be secondary. For example, one aspect of great importance under current conditions is the improvement of the exchange of



activities as a component of production relationships, an area that has been given less attention in these discussions. The exchange of activities (or the relationships regarding the social organization of labor) expresses the relationships between the different social groups in the process of using the means of production. By way of a mutual exchange of activities, brought about by the existence of the social division of labor, people cooperate in the creation of material goods at the level of the entire society. In its essence, the exchange of activities expresses relationships between different social groups, but it specifically appears as relationships between branches, enterprises, sections, workshops and so forth which mutual deliver their different material items that are to be processed in the production process. Depending upon the forms of socialist ownership, the exchange of activities takes on the form of the exchange of goods in society (the selling and buying of goods) and of technical-material supply.

Although the exchange of activities between people and between different groups or social classes (and even within these groups and classes) is determined by the nature of the ownership of the means of production, nonetheless it manifests a relative independence from its base, taking on the following peculiarities: if the ownership relations can be established at one time by a revolutionary act (as was our case in the nationalization act of 11 June 1948), then the relationships of the exchange of activities formed and were developed over time, with many experimentations, attempts and searches having occurred for optimum solutions. The improvement of this type of social-economic relations is achieved not as the result of the blind action of objective laws, but rather in a planned, conscious manner as a result of actions organized by the people. Currently, there is special stress on expanding and diversifying the relationships of exchange and cooperation between the members of society in order to further and multiply the relationships where these people come into the process of creating material goods. This is so, as is known, since the operation of the entire system of economic affairs becomes more efficient as there is a better articulation and more perfect synchronization of the exchanges of activities between the members of society employed in different sectors at the level of the units, branches and sub-branches of the national economy.

On another subject, I am of the opinion that since the social structure is determined by the degree of development of the economic structure and production relationships, a key problem area is that of the implications of improving production relationships for the social structures and classes in our society during the current stage. From this perspective, there are firm grounds for the opinion expressed during the discussions at Iasi, whereby our country's class structure is precisely the result of the revolutionary transformations that have taken place as a result of establishing public ownership and advancing along the path of building socialism.

It is, perhaps, necessary to have several inflections and nuances with regards to establishing the components of the new social structure. Thus, if during the first stages of social construction the main source of the origins of

the working class was the peasantry, now, "the new wave" of the working class has its origins, for the most part, in the working class itself (without excluding, certainly, the origins in the other social classes and categories). More and more we see the phenomenon of the workers "dynasty".

With regards to the peasantry, actually, what we today call the peasantry is no longer the social class of yesteryear: For that reason we must insist upon showing its nature as a new class which is derived from the existence at its base of public-cooperatist ownership. By virtue of this fact, the peasantry is no longer a class that is stratified within itself, but rather a homogeneous class with an increase role in the national economy and with a new spiritual-moral profile that is specific to the builders of socialism.

As a result of the socialist transformations over the 4 decades since 23 August 1944, within the intelligentsia there has been an increase in the percentage of the new intellectuals stemming directly from the ranks of the working class, the peasantry and the other social categories in comparison to the initial period when there was an intelligentsia formed from the old system and which, gradually, aligned itself alongside the work of building socialism. In this regard, I believe that comrade Rodica Cepareanu correctly stated the fact that now "there is an even greater homogenization of the internal structure of the intelligentsia." In the not too distant future, the intelligentsia will be composed of the children of the workers who participated in the process of building socialism in our country.

With regards to comrade Mihai Todosia's opinion that "today the intelligentsia are part of the working class and the peasantry, that it is the most advanced part of them," I feel that this is only partly true. Naturally, if we are referring to the technical intelligentsia, that is, to that part of the intelligentsia linked directly to the production processes, it could be evaluated as the most advanced part of the working class and the peasantry. What do we do, however, with the other categories of the intelligentsia? Here, with the data on this problem being something else, I believe that we should continue to consider the intelligentsia as a social force in Romanian society.

#### The Definition and Study of Social Structures - Dr Ioan Margineanu

Social structure represents a dynamic, especially complex reality. Its definition involves a series of difficulties, with the tendency sometimes appearing of reducing it to one of its component elements. An appropriate approach to social structure should include both its multidimensional nature and its specific means of expression in the process of social affairs. This requires taking into consideration the entire social system that is created from the forms of the people's collective life and activities in society.

In the process of historical development, even from the oldest times, people have created their own specific forms of collective existence. The sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies felt that the forms of collective living for people have evolved from the community - based on common interests - to society - based on will. On the other hand, the sociologist Emile Durkheim sees this evolution differently: from a mechanical solidarity - based on repression - to organic solidarity - based on recompense. In reality, the forms of the people's collective life have experienced a more complex evolution. Human communities, as overall forms of collective life, have evolved according to economic-social development from the primitive group to the modern nation, undergoing a series of intermediary organizations (band, tribe, people). At the same time, within each society, in addition to this human community, actually within this community, there are a series of social collectives and groups, among which some have a decisive role in influencing and carrying out the people's affairs and activities, with these also being called, for their part, human communities precisely to stress their nature of existing as people within society. The overall human communities and social collectives and groups within society make up their social system, which is a dynamic, open system - a subsystem of society interacting with the other subsystems of this society (technical-material, economic, political, legal, cultural and so forth).

In the process of creating relatively stable social collectives and groups, there must be the moment when their structure crystalizes. The genesis of social structures must be sought in man's fundamental need to live and function in a collective, within which a series of material and communal relationships appear, while the transformation of these structures (their dynamics) must be sought in the living conditions and the activities of the human collectives themselves. Certainly, there also exists in society unstructured collectives and groups whose existences are of short duration (for many), but the crystalization process for certain specific structures (a system of relationships) constitutes a law for any human collective. Some collectives are more stable than others, some have disappeared and others will disappear in the future. Always, however, as long as mankind exists, there will also be specific forms of collective existence, with these representing an objective necessity for man, who is an eminently social being.

Within the ranks of social structures we include, first of all: the nation as the overall form of current human community; social classes and categories; socioprofessional groups; territorial collectives (communities) - villages and cities; regional and statal communities; and the family. There is also a well-identified place here for all the social collectives and groups which are important in determining the appearance of society to the degree in which they make up social living environments for individuals in their society, such as: work collectives, as well as those sociodemographic groups or economic, political or cultural organizations which are expressed as social

entities, representing forms of collective life for the people and among which specific material relationships are established and which, in turn, make up the binding force for other interpersonal and spiritual relationships, and so forth.

The starting point in defining social structures is, therefore, the human community, understood as the most general form of organizing the people's collective lives that exists at a certain historical period - which is also the point for having the opportunity to be called the overall human community - and within which one can distinguish a series of other forms (subordinate, specific) of collective life and activity. Outlining the human community as a general social environment for the existence of a certain population is made easier by the fact that the population that makes it up is linked to a certain territory (geographic area) and is characterized by common traits and a specific economic, social, political and cultural life.

Within the framework of contemporary society, the social structure contains all of the social classes, collectives, communities and groups, as well as the overall body of social, material, community and group relationships that are established within society and which correspond to the forms of the people's collective lives and activities. Each element of the social structure has a specific determining factor and function. Thus, for example, the socio-occupational and professional structure is created as a result of the social division of labor and has a well-determined role in the operation of the entire social organism of production.

Currently, human society is experiencing a powerful division of labor between different occupational and professional groups not only on the domestic level, but also at the international level, and which leads to an ever more powerful accentuation of the interdependency of nations and states. The objectively necessary nature of the social division of labor determines a complex socio-occupational and professional structure which is modified to the degree in which there is an evolution of its determining factors and, first of all, the material conditions of production activities and certain production forces. Thus, for example, in the contemporary world economic-social progress requires the achievement of an optimum balance between sectors and branches of activity, an increase in the contribution of the top branches involved in technical progress, the development of science, education and culture and an improvement in the general level of school and professional training for the working population.

Giving the name human community to certain entities that are so different in our times must be accompanied, in my opinion, by a very precise determination of the nature and role of each entity since there are important, essential differences between them, with it not being possible, therefore, to have transfers of significance and functions from one type of human community to another. The nation is and remains the fundamental type of

human community in contemporary society. We stress this because there is no shortage of points of view which tend to minimize or even deny the role of the national today and in the future. The documents of the Romanian Communist Party clearly state, on the basis of the analysis of real situations, that the nation has and will continue to have an important role for a long period of time, including under communism.

With regards to class structure, its genesis is determined by the nature of production relationships in society. Social classes appeared at a certain stage of development of the forces of production, constitute the fundamental dynamic element in relationship to the overall social life and are transformed along with the changes that occur within the framework of the manner of production. In the analysis of class structure, it is not sufficient to determine the existence of social classes and categories. At the same time, it is necessary to outline their internal make-up, the relationships between them, the tendencies regarding evolution, the fact whether we are dealing with a stratified class structure or one in the process of being homogenized, of having a gradual drawing together of the social classes and categories, and so forth.

Considering class structure as a fundamental element of social structure, since it reveals the nature of material production relationships, thus influencing overall social affairs through this, has never meant ignoring the other elements of social structure as specific forms of social communities, collectives and groups: occupational and professional structures, territorial collectives, the family and the nation. Actually, a specific social structure will continue to exist even when certain component elements are no longer in existence. As a result, social structure, in its entirety, cannot be reduced to any one of its component elements, regardless of what it might be.

The achievement of such a thorough analysis of social structure requires improving the conceptual framework - as was well-stressed in the discussion hosted by ERA SOCIALISTA - especially by way of specifying the internal characteristics of its different component elements and the characteristic processes that take place. At the same time, I believe we should note the fact that it would be desirable to have an increase in the strictness in defining these concepts and a better statement of their significance, concomitant, certainly, with a simpler, easily understood statement of the problems involved.

In order to illustrate this, I will mention a single example which can be added to those that have already been noted to date: sometimes there is an analysis of the homogenization of socialist society solely from the view of certain economic or even technical and technological processes having a general nature, such as: the coming together of physical labor and intellectual labor, of industry and agriculture, and the village and the city. And, these especially significant processes characterize any modern society that has reached a relatively high level of economic development, while the developmental efforts tend to include such a modernization. Furthermore, activities

in agriculture are and tend to become to an ever greater degree higher than even certain non-agricultural activities, including industry, just as life in the rural collective presents many advantages compared to life in the urban environment, advantages which can also be multiplied in the process of economic-social modernization. That is why, in my opinion, it is necessary to also draw up an arsenal of concepts having a lower degree of generalities and having applications for the specifics of diverse societies, which would permit the carrying out of research that is at the same time more systematic and more relevant.

Along this train of thought, I believe there should be increased interest expressed regarding the studying of social categories and groups that are found in the area of contact of the principal elements of the social structure, such as: localities of a rural-urban nature or urban-rural nature, social groups composed of workers-peasants or peasants-workers, and so forth. Thought could also be given to whether perhaps the methodology of population census itself could be improved by also including certain indicators that would permit a better reflection of the situations and processes that are encountered.

The Intellectual Worker - A New 'Segment' of the Working Class - Dr Maria Cobianu-Bacanu

Taking into consideration that the technical-scientific revolution that is occurring in our country is changing from the ground up the type of technology that is used and the level of training of the workforce, especially in the modern enterprises having "state of the art" technology, I believe that we are right to speak of the appearance of a new "segment" of the working class - the intellectual worker. In the concept of the intellectual worker we wish to show the real movement of the phenomenon and the specific dynamics of the social structure towards new, higher forms that are determined by the new technical and human conditions and by qualifications and specialization.

It is clear that the constantly ascendent evolution that has been recorded by the working class must also be accompanied by an adequate conceptual framework that is designed to express the real qualitative changes that have taken place in the social structure. Theory and knowledge in the social sciences, in our case in sociology, cannot fall behind life, operating with outdated concepts and not corresponding to new realities that are continually evolving. For example, in connection with the working class one phrase that has become a cliché is that "its dynamics are expressed through powerful quantitative growth and especially qualitative transformations." But, what are these qualitative transformations? What is their real essence? What are they evolving towards? These are some questions to which we must necessarily give better answers.

Contemporary Romanian society - found fully in the middle of the process of going from old, traditional forms of work to new forms that are linked to the most modern technologies, such as electronics technology for computers, data and cybernetics - brings to light the appearance, in the early stages in the pioneering enterprises in technology and professionalism, of the intellectual worker as a new form from and in the current social and professional structure. We are talking about the engineer and technician who directly participates in the production process. We are talking about the worker who thinks about, designs and actually produces a product or participates in its making in an enterprise where the majority of the workforce is made up of engineers and technicians.

Sociological investigation carried out in 1983 at the Institute of Geodetics, Photographic Survey, Cartography and Territorial Organization (IGFCOT) in Bucharest has shown the fact that 87.4 percent of the worker personnel there have medium-level and higher education and of these 77.7 percent are engineers, sub-engineers and specialists of different types, as well as technicians, who directly participate in the production process. The so-called workers compose only 17.6 percent, and among these direct-production workers are only those involved in the photo, typo and topo shops, that is, those who work in the photographic, typographic and field workshops as topographers. The rest are workers indirectly involved in production. This type of work, the essence in this institute having a triple charter in technological engineering, design and research is carried out by engineers, sub-engineers, mathematicians-programmers, geographers and technicians. In this institute (as well as in all institutes of technological engineering and scientific research), the direct workers have become the engineer, the specialist of another type who works in an organic interdisciplinary sense with him, and the technicians having a rich experience, a great specialist. The professional and cultural horizons of this worker are close to those of the intellectual. For that reason, we can call him an intellectual worker.

The intellectual worker is a component of an integrative production process that is in flux, experiencing or having a perspective upon the entire production process. His work is predominantly intellectual. Even when he also does physical work, the greatest portion of this is also intellectual. In this large enterprise which works with the technology specific to the current scientific and technical revolution, the majority is represented by a production worker collective. Without this human grouping which is working in a state of flux and in closely correlated specialized human sectors and groups, it would not be possible to conceive of either the final product or the enterprise. The intellectual worker, as shown by the specific research at the above-mentioned institute, is simultaneously a producer and researcher and a designer and researcher. With him, the design activities approach the production activities the most, and are identified in one and the same person. But, that is not all. He carries out the work for production and, simultaneously, for organization, management, supervision and review.

The appearance of the intellectual worker is not happenstance, but rather it represents the natural result of a historical development of technology and people and their institutional forms of organization. It is a necessity imposed by the requirements of developing measurement technologies that were, at the beginning, mechanical, but now are electro-optical or radar. It is a product of the contemporary era in which science is transformed into an organic component of the forces of production, while technology in its most complex and sophisticated forms can no longer be mastered except by a worker having a very high level of professionalism and technological culture. The intellectual worker is a new "alloy" between the worker and the intellectual, a result of the direct cooperation between technological engineering, designing and research. It places in a new social and professional category the unity between physical effort and intellectual effort and between production activities and activities for design, management, organization and review.

In the intellectual worker there is a human synthesis between two social and professional statutes that were previously found at a sufficient large social distance: the worker - a representative primarily of physical labor, and the intellectual - a representative of intellectual work. The geodetics engineer, for example, goes into the field, collects data with the help of certain complex devices which he alone operates, and then interprets the data and presents them in a study that becomes an information base in a higher stage of the technological process. We are talking about a profound change in the social and professional structure in the sense that this goes beyond the current divisions into social classes and categories that are specific to a stage of development of production forces and relationships, and that there is a coming together taking place between professional statuses, a closeness that wipes out the essential opposition and differences between physical labor and intellectual labor.

What causes us to speak of an intellectual worker? First of all, there is the fact that, according to the place he occupies in the production system, he is the creator of material and spiritual goods; according to his relationship with the means of production, he is the owner and co-owner of the means of production that he has available; according to his role in the organization of labor, he can simultaneously be the manager and the producer; and according to the manner of salary payment, he is the recipient of a portion of the national wealth, corresponding to the quantity and quality of the work done. He is an intellectual worker because his work, as a producer, is at the same time a predominantly intellectual, complex work that is integrated with the broad technological process, using devices that are especially technical in nature.

Why do we define the intellectual worker as a new "segment" of the working class? We do this because, in retracing the path covered during the evolution of the working class from the dawn of its appearance during capitalism until now, we note that the intellectual worker is a new link in the continuous chain of social and professional changes that have involved the industrial worker.



An analysis of the phases of development of the working class in our country, which correspond to a progressive development of technology, shows, in our opinion, five progressive phases or stages. The first stage is that of using the untrained worker; the second stage is the worker who is trained on-the-job; the third is the worker who is trained in a professional school; the fourth is the worker who is trained in a specialized high school or through medium-level technical schools and masters schools; the fifth is the worker having higher education. The workers in the third "segment" represent the most consistent part of the working class today. The trend in development is the growth of the "segment" composed of workers having medium-level schooling and higher education, especially in those enterprises having high technology. The workers in the last "segment" are fewer in number, which is only right, but they represent the direction of the future development in the era of the scientific and technical revolution.

8724

CSO: 2700/180

## CIRCULATION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 1982, 1983

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian No 335, Feb 84 p 9

[Text] Comparative Survey of Average Number of Copies of Daily Newspapers  
Printed and Sold Over the Period January-December 1982 and 1983

Newspaper Name	Printed			Sold		
	1982	1983	Index	1982	1983	Index
SR [Socialist Republic]						
Bosnia-Hercegovina						
OSLOBODJENJE	80,432	83,331	104	69,386	71,557	103
VECERNJE NOVINE	18,473	45,670	247	15,671	35,049	224
GLAS	9,760	12,769	131	7,967	9,329	117
SR Montenegro						
POBJEDA	21,961	22,568	103	19,424	20,073	103
SR Croatia						
VJESNIK	90,224	91,116	101	72,357	73,030	101
VECERNJI LIST	324,775	342,533	105	293,768	309,839	105
SPORTSKE NOVOSTI	168,494	169,887	101	139,942	141,247	101
SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	76,318	78,242	103	68,164	71,571	105
NOVI LIST I GLAS ISTRE	75,087	78,976	105	68,424	71,274	104
GLAS SLAVONIJE	14,454	14,781	102	12,891	13,464	104
LA VOCE DEL POPOLO	4,216	4,195	100	2,969	2,913	98
SR Macedonia						
NOVA MAKEDONIJA	28,087	29,124	104	23,748	25,089	106
VEGER	32,543	36,771	113	27,591	31,959	116
SR Slovenia						
DELO	103,522	105,042	101	98,453	99,840	101
DNEVNIK--LJUBLJANA	54,559	53,497	98	51,696	50,723	98
VEGER--MARIBOR	58,807	58,477	99	55,395	55,476	100

<u>Newspaper Name</u>	<u>Printed</u>			<u>Sold</u>		
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Index</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Index</u>
Serbia proper						
BORBA*	47,581	42,563	89	34,778	30,976	89
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI	371,781	379,921	102	327,427	339,859	104
SPORT	120,543	127,712	106	98,083	106,781	109
POLITIKA	272,329	278,101	102	238,848	243,826	102
EKSPRES	293,288	286,451	98	259,298	249,758	96
NARODNE NOVINE	8,111	8,273	102	7,208	7,165	106
PRIVREDNI PREGLED	14,847	12,960	87	11,185	9,515	85
SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo						
RILINDJA	44,287	46,252	104	38,507	41,141	107
JEDINSTVO	8,903	4,974	56	6,088	2,717	45
SAP Vojvodina						
DNEVNIK	34,524	38,697	112	30,324	34,158	113
MAGYAR SZO	29,404	30,279	103	25,590	26,485	103

\* Regular daily issues and weekend issue covering both Saturday and Sunday.

7045  
CSO: 2800/278

MACEDONIAN WRITERS REJECT 'COMMON CORE' IN SCHOOL INSTRUCTION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by O. Arbuljevska: "Unacceptable Attitude"]

[Text] The story of the common core in curricula and syllabi, especially for the Macedonian language and literature, has been taken up again in Skoplje, a bit tardily and rather tumultuously, with certain unacceptable acts of expression which obviously lead nowhere.

This story has had several ins and outs in its history to date. The republic bureau for advancement of the schools drafted four versions of the common syllabus core, and the Macedonian Writers' Association, debating them on three occasions, rejected those proposals, and then the culmination of the story occurred at the plenum of that association on 9 March of this year, when the writers adopted a resolution on the common core and definitively rejected even the fourth version, refusing to participate in improving it.

The resolution stated among other things that the "reform of education and upbringing, especially insofar as it concerns the humanitarian disciplines, and above all the language, literature and history of the nationality, is completely unacceptable, since it reduces their study to the number of c:h [?] hours, which does not allow any sort of familiarity with the language and literature or history of the nationality." The resolution then states that educational institutions are thus condemned "to producing educated people with truncated knowledge in the field of the language of the nationality and literature and history without shape."

The Society of Macedonian Writers observes that experience to date and the results of the reform have offered numerous and irrefutable evidence of its being a mistake and disoriented. They call for the reform to be subjected to the strict critical analysis of society so that undesirable consequences can be averted in time. "Expulsion" of the languages, literatures and history of the nationalities is a general Yugoslav problem which hurts all our nationalities and ethnic minorities, the writer said in that resolution. They stressed that "the very concept of the 'core' suffers from scientific, professional and pedagogic worthlessness." Finally, the resolution states categorically that the Society of Macedonian Writers rejects the possibility of its participation in any form in shaping what is referred to as the versions concerning

the "teaching core" unless the key issues of the nationality's language, literature and history in syllabi are settled. What the writers mean by this is a greater number of hours for those subjects and the introduction of certain new subjects (history of the literature of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the SFRY as well as the history of the nationality), the writing of textbooks and introduction of equal study of the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia in all parts of the country.

During the discussion when this resolution was being adopted there were very harsh words said about "degradation of the languages and literatures of the nationalities," as well as of their history in the core syllabi, so as to threaten national identity.

Such words, this kind of exclusiveness in statements, and particularly the refusal for any further participation in work on the common core syllabus could not, of course receive any wide support. On the contrary, they were judged to be unacceptable in a meeting of the Commission of the Macedonian LC Central Committee for Ideological Work, and the entire action by the writers was deemed to be an attempt to instill ideological confusion into a very important task in developing a spirit of community, brotherhood and unity. These views were also found to be unacceptable because they close off any democratic dialogue or reconciliation of views and because they reject the very idea of the common core.

7045

CSO: 2800/278

FEWER UNIVERSITY-LEVEL STUDENTS IN KOSOVO

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by M. M.: "Fewer University Students"]

[Text] According to university rector Hajredin Hodza, about 8,000 fulltime and 4,000 parttime students will be enrolled in junior and senior postsecondary schools in the province in the 1984/85 academic year. Again this year more attention will be devoted to reorienting students toward studies that lead toward productive occupations, so that 70 out of every 100 university students will be enrolled in the production disciplines and the natural and engineering sciences. Since 1981 there has been a trend at the university toward a reduction of enrollment; in the 1981/82 academic year the student body numbered all of 17,000, while this year it is 13,500. The trend is to reduce the size of the student body next year by about 10 percent, with an increase in the number of parttime students and a reduction in the number of fulltime students. This is being done because there is not enough classroom space and fitted-out laboratories for the fulltime students, and there is not enough money for scholarships and student loans, dormitory space or money for travel.

In order to improve the effectiveness of university education, enrollment this year will be dependent upon qualifying examinations at all senior and junior postsecondary schools, and the most able applicants will be chosen by a process of selection. The selection and reduction of the number of enrollments is justified by the fact that in Kosovo there are 26 university students for every 1,000 inhabitants, while, say, in Slovenia, Croatia or Montenegro the proportion is half as great. Certainly this orientation represents evident progress, at least as far as the effectiveness of university study is concerned, because of the specific nature of the situation in the province, where 71 percent of the population is under age 25 and where every year about 20,000 secondary school students graduate, and where 50 percent of the 95,000 people unemployed are secondary school graduates.

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